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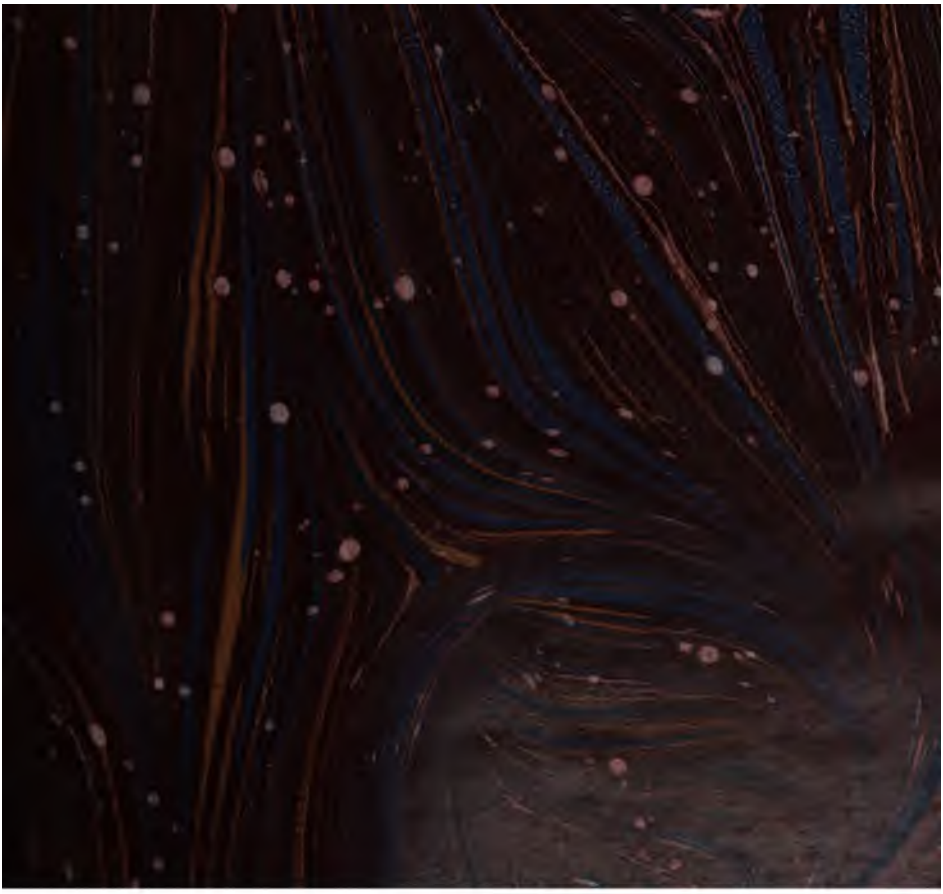

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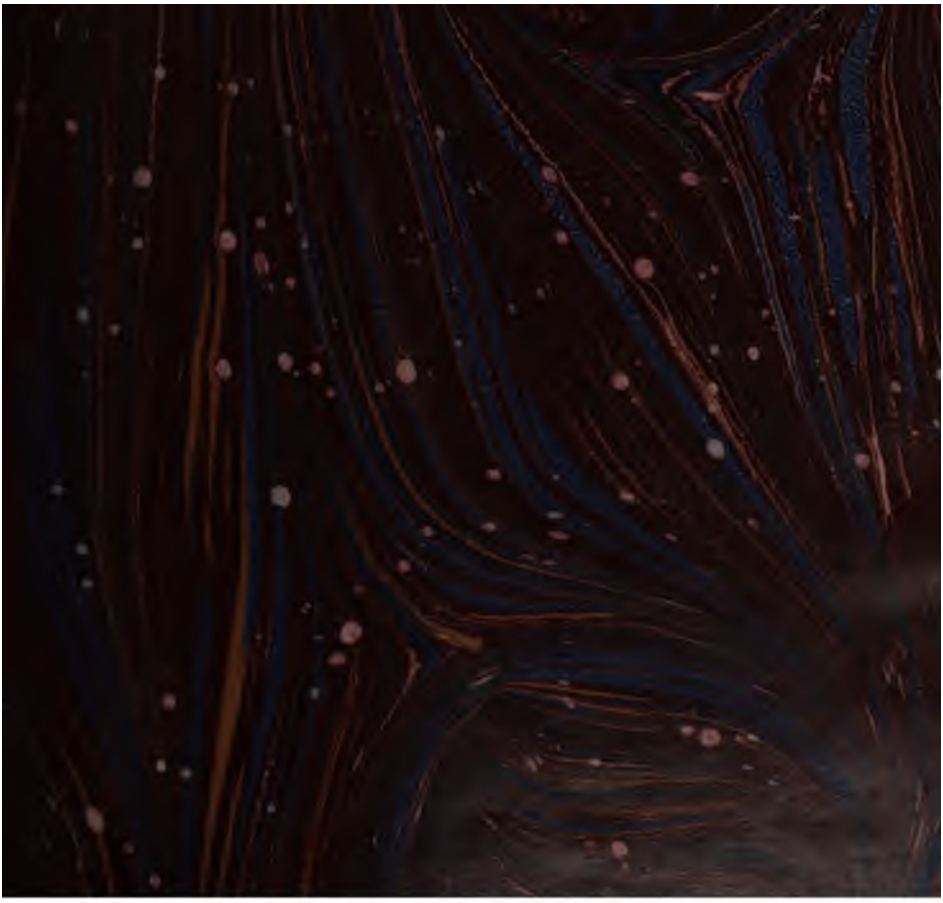

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VOL. VIII. JANUARY, 1883. PART I.

LES ANATHÈMES D'UNE MÈRE PAYENNE CONTRE SON FILS DEVENU CHRÉTIEN.

PAR M. EUGÈNE REVILLOUT.

Read 7th November, 1882.

MON cher maître et ami, Dr. Birch, m'a communiqué un papyrus démotique appartenant à Mr. Dodgson, et, sur sa demande, le propriétaire veut bien m'autoriser à en donner la notice à notre société. Ce papyrus est fort intéressant. Il contient une série de malédictions prononcées, devant la divinité, contre un fils, par une mère, parlant aussi au nom des mânes de son mari. Il peut se comparer sous ce rapport au papyrus grec publié par Pétrettini et qui renferme des anathèmes du même genre, ayant également un caractère religieux, mais qui proviennent d'une fille et ont pour objectif son père, dont elle avait à se plaindre. Ce qui rend le papyrus de Mr. Dodgson beaucoup plus curieux que le papyrus Pétrettini, c'est le motif même des malédictions. Il ne s'agit plus ici d'une cause toute personnelle de mécontentement. Non, la discussion a des bases plus larges, un intérêt plus élevé et véritablement social. Il ne s'agit de rien moins que de la lutte du paganisme égyptien à son déclin contre le

christianisme à son aurore. Notre papyrus est, à ce point de vue, unique dans son genre, et mérite peut-être l'attention bienveillante de nos savants confrères.

Il s'agit d'un nommé Pétuosor (Petosor), fils de Nespmêté, fils de Petuariès, fils de Psépanofré. Ce Petosor s'était converti au christianisme, et, au baptême, il avait, suivant une coutume assez répandue, changé son nom payen, qui signifie *le don d'Osiris*, contre un nom chrétien, celui de Pierre, *Pétros*, qu'avait porté le prince des apôtres. Il ne s'était pas borné à abandonner ainsi la vieille religion de l'Egypte pour embrasser la nouvelle doctrine de l'Evangile, mais il paraît que son zèle de néophyte l'avait entrainé très loin et qu'il avait souvent proféré des menaces contre le paganisme encore dominant.

Ceci se passait sans doute dans un des moments de paix relative de l'Eglise. En Egypte le christianisme fut moins persécuté qu'ailleurs jusqu'à la persécution finale de Dioclétien, dont les martyrologes coptes nous parlent si souvent. La raison en est bien simple. Les Egyptiens, depuis la conquête d'Auguste, avaient été relégués au dernier plan parmi les nations soumises : non seulement, comme tant d'autres, ils n'avaient pas la cité romaine, mais il ne leur était même pas permis de l'obtenir individuellement. Nous voyons par les lettres de Pline et de Trajan, que l'empereur ne pouvait accorder en Egypte le droit de cité romaine qu'aux Alexandrins seulement, et que, pour y faire parvenir un égyptien de race, il fallait d'abord obtenir pour cet égyptien la cité alexandrine. Il serait trop long d'énumérer ici les mesures rigoureuses qui faisaient déjà des malheureux habitants de la vallée du Nil de veritables esclaves de la glèbe, parqués, chacun dans son nome, sans droit *humain*, pour ainsi dire, des bêtes de somme destinées à produire le blé dont Rome avait besoin et livrées pour cela au pouvoir despotique de l'Augustal, sans appel possible à l'Empereur. Il importait peu alors aux maîtres du monde de savoir ce que pensaient ou croyaient les pauvres Egyptiens. La munificence imperiale allait jusqu'à ordonner quelques réparations aux vieux temples, à payer quelques prêtres, qui servaient de *ciceroni* aux nobles étrangers et leur disaient la bonne avanture—car les Egyptiens étaient les grands sorciers de l'époque, et les missionnaires de la *gnose* dans l'empire—et

puis tout était fini : on s'inquiétait peu des doctrines qui circulaient dans le peuple et qui s'étaient répandues avec une étrange rapidité, à cause des consolations qu'elles offraient aux misérables au milieu de leur abjection. Aussi les persécutions contre le christianisme en Egypte ne débutèrent-elles sérieusement qu'après le moment où, par une mesure générale, tous les peuples conquis devinrent romains, et où, par conséquent, les Egyptiens furent quelque chose.

A toute chose malheur est bon. Les chrétiens d'Egypte méprisés, et par cela même épargnés, s'étaient peu-à-peu fortifiés. Les payens, que le prophète tribun Sénuti devait plus tard poursuivre partout, le glaive et la torche en main, s'étaient déjà vus, à l'époque que nous étudions, en butte, aux attaques emportées de leurs compatriotes chrétiens, et ils leur rendaient haine pour haine. Jamais la tolérance n'a été en faveur dans la vallée du Nil. Les violents s'y font toujours une haute situation par leur violence même, et tel est le rôle que Petuosor, ou Pierre, s'était donné. Je serais très porté à croire que notre héros occupait une place importante dans le clergé. Sa mère lui reproche, depuis qu'il s'est fabriqué un dieu qui tue, de vivre avec d'autres dans l'abondance et d'abandonner sa famille, restée payenne. Elle parle de ses constructions et des menaces proférées alors par lui contre les temples, ainsi que de ses parodies sacriléges des rites divins. Elle le représente toujours comme une sorte de chef de parti ; et c'est même là un des principaux motifs de sa colère. Elle veut par ses malédictions venger la cause des dieux outragés et attaqués par son fils, et c'est pour cela que, tant en son propre nom qu'en celui de son défunt mari, elle a écrit la protestation solennelle dont nous allons donner lecture. Remarquons seulement pour l'intelligence de ce qui suit que la pieuse payenne ne veut plus conserver à Petosor le nom sacré qu'elle lui avait attribué à sa naissance, et qu'elle répugne également à accepter le nom profane pris par le converti ; de son ancien nom *Petuosor*, "le don d'Osiris," elle supprime donc dans l'usage ordinaire l'élément mythologique, *Osor*, "Osiris," et se borne à l'appeler *Petu* ou *Tu*, "le don," abbréviation dont nous avons déjà des exemples à l'époque ptolémaïque et qu'on peut comparer au nom propre hébreu

Nathan, abrégé de *Jonathan*, ou *Baalnathan*, "donné par Jéhovah," ou "donné par Baal."

Voici maintenant, de notre document, une version bien rapidement faite et pour laquelle je demanderai par conséquent l'indulgence de mes bienveillants auditeurs;[1] C'est Naïchrat, la mère de Petosor, qui parle, en exposant d'abord le sujet en son nom personnel.

"Choiak 21. Naïchrat, qui a enfanté Tu, fils de Nesmêté, fils de Petuarièsé, fils de Psépanofré, dit :—"Je suis à la porte[2] d'Osiris et d'Isis Hathor. Je me tiens debout[3] près de celle qu'on aime,[4] près de celui qu'on reconnait.[5] Le misérable![6] Ils[7] me donneront ceci en main : à savoir de le maudire"![8]

Ici elle s'arrête et fait intervenir d'abord l'ombre[9] vénérée du père de famille :—

"Moi, Osiris Nespmêté, fils d'Isis, j'ai dit ceci : Pétros-Psépoer![10] Je ne t'appellerai pas de ton nom,[11] du nom que t'a donné ta mère![12] On appelle (maintenant) ton nom Pétros (Pierre), fils de Petarièsé,[13] fils de Psépanofré! c'est ton nom!

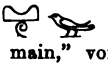
[1] Je vais donner les renvois permettant à tout égyptologue de se rendre compte de la premrière sommation. Cela suffira, je pense, pour le moment. Je me propose de publier plus tard le mot-à-mot philologique complet de nos textes si importants dans la *Revue Egyptologique*. (Paris : Leroux, éditeur.) En attendant, on trouvera, jointe à cet article, la photographie du papyrus.

[2] Brugsch, Dict., 842. La mère se représente comme près de mourir et de comparaître devant Osiris.

[3] Brugsch, Dict., 927.

[4] Isis Hathor, la Vénus égyptienne. (Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 38.)

[5] Osiris. Pour ce mot reconnaître, voir Setna contrats, etc., etc.

[6] Cette exclamation s'applique à Petosor. C'est le mot hiérog. 

[7] Les dieux nommés plus haut.—Pour les mots, "donner en main," voir Brugsch, Dict., 1609, 1612, et 1664.

[8] ⲥⲁϩⲟⲩ. (Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 1280.)

[9] C'est ici, comme nous l'avons dit, le père mort de Petosor qui est censé parler, c'est-à-dire Nespmêté, qui en qualité de bienheureux est devenu un nouvel Osiris, suivant la doctrine égyptienne.

[10] Psépoer est sans doute un surnom.

[11] C'est-à-dire comme nous le verrons plus loin, "Je ne le nommerai pas Petosor," car c'était là son nom primitif. (Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 219 et 860.)

[12] Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 731.

[13] Petosor était, comme nous l'avons vu, fils de Nespmêté et petit-fils seulement de Petuarièsé; mais son père, dans son horreur du sacrilége, renonce pour ainsi dire à sa paternité et saute son propre nom dans la filiation du rénégat. C'est du reste ce qu'il dit plus loin, "Je ne reconnais pas mon œuvre."

"Fais moi connaître[1] ton cœur![2] Je t'ai donné du pain,[3] et tu as dépouillé[4] ta mère[5] au désespoir![6] Le Dieu que tu t'es fabriqué tue.[7] Va mourir loin de ce dromos d'Isis; car je ne reconnais pas mon œuvre![8]

"Tu t'es fait connaître![9] tu as bu le vin de la demeure de la nécropole[10] dans le lieu[11] où l'on prie[12] le roi Osiris Ounnofré,

[1] Brugsch, Dict., 868.

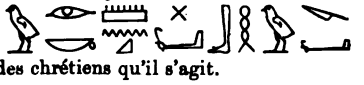
[2] Voir aussi pour cette phrase et la suivante la seconde sommation (*verso*). Pour le mot cœur, conf. Brugsch, Dict., p. 933.

[3] Conf. Brugsch, Dict., p. 111.

[4] ϩⲱⲥⲩ dépouiller; comparer la seconde sommation.

[5] Le mot *mère* (*mau-t* ⲙⲁⲩⲧ) est ici écrit par une variante assez commune aux basses époques et qui le confond avec la racine *ama* et *mai* (voir Poésies bilingues de Moschion dans la *Revue égyptologique*, Vol. II, p. 275), signifiant *substance*. M. Brugsch avait déjà signalé cette confusion dans sa *Grammaire démotique*, p. 29, et il expliquait ainsi le déterminatif des membres qui accompagne le mot *substance* et se joint à la racine, aux basses époques, même quand il s'agit du nom de la mère; c'est également le cas ici. Cette variante a été choisie dans ce passage pour rendre les reproches plus touchants: la mère est bien par excellence la substance même du fils.

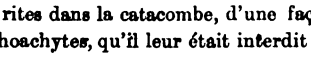
[6] *Confer.:* Brugsch Dict., 1020, sup. 880. Ce reproche de dureté et d'ingratitude est souvent répété. Pour tout ce paragraphe il faut comparer notre texte à celui de la seconde sommation, qui est plus correct. Ainsi l'affixe personnel de *tui*, "j'ai donné," est surtout visible dans la seconde, etc.

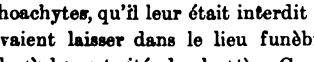
[7]  Brugsch, Dict., 411 et 665. C'est du dieu des chrétiens qu'il s'agit.

[8] Je ne te reconnais plus pour mon fils. (Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 730, 399, 678, 1080, 868, 97.)

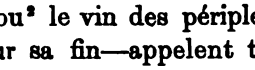
[9] Pour un impie, un misérable. (Brugsch, 868.)

[10] On peut voir à ce sujet le curieux *règlement des choachytes* publié par moi dans mon travail intitulé *Taricheutes et Choachytes* (Zeitschrift de M. Lepsius, 1880, pp. 70, 103, 136). Les choachytes chargés des services funèbres pour les morts étaient obligés, lors de leurs offices, de boire certaines quantités de vin dans la catacombe même. C'était là le lieu funèbre (*Manun*), dont parle notre papyrus, comme les documents hiéroglyphiques signalés par M. Brugsch dans son dictionnaire géographique (pp. 260, 261). Les rites funèbres qu'on y accomplissait étaient en l'honneur d'Osiris Ounnofré, le roi et le dieu des morts. Or il paraît que Petosor ou Pierre était allé, peut-être avec d'autres chrétiens, contrefaire ces rites dans la catacombe, d'une façon réputée sacrilége, et boire le vin sacré des choachytes, qu'il leur était interdit de transporter en leurs maisons, mais qu'ils devaient laisser dans le lieu funèbre où ils accomplissaient leurs liturgies (voir le règlement cité plus haut). Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 1181, 102.

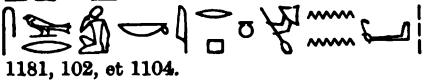
[11] avec le déterminatif funèbre ().

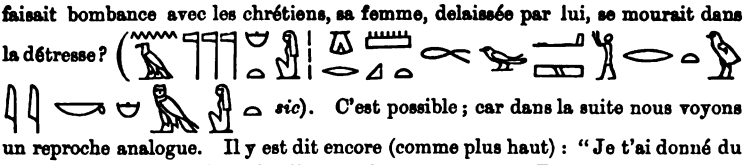
[12]  = ⲧⲱϩⲉ.

(et là) tu as fait honte[1] à Isis! tu as bu[2] le vin des périples sacrés, pendant que les déesses—pour sa fin—appelent ta femme.[3]

"Il a dit (ce Petosor): '*Hathor a fini sa domination sur le pays! Frappez la sur le ventre*[4] *et sur les mamelles*'! Tu as chanté. —Les hommes chantent.[5]—Tu verras:—ils vont passer.[6]—Tu réssusciteras (ou tu te réveilleras  ⲛⲉϩⲥⲓ) avec Osiris[7] en ame lors de son périple céleste.[8]

[1] = ϯ ϩⲱⲧⲉ.

[2]  ⲁϩⲕⲱ ⲏⲣⲡ. Brugsch, Dict., 1181, 102, et 1104.

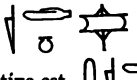
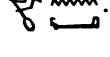
[3] Cette fin de phrase est peu claire. Veut-on dire que pendant que Petosor faisait bombance avec les chrétiens, sa femme, delaissée par lui, se mourait dans la détresse? ( *sic*). C'est possible; car dans la suite nous voyons un reproche analogue. Il y est dit encore (comme plus haut): "Je t'ai donné du pain, et tu as dépouillé ta mère." Puis le texte ajoute: "Ruine moi, toi qui t'es bâti des maisons: ils ont abondance en leurs maisons dans lesquelles tu te souilles —et toi tu veux démolir les fondations des temples, renverser les statues divines." Evidemment on reproche au converti son peu d'affection pour ses parents payens et l'abondance dont il est supposé jouir dans les nouveaux édifices sacrés des chrétiens, par lesquels il veut remplacer les temples des idoles. C'est dans cette pensée que Petosor se serait écrié: "Hathor a fini sa domination sur le pays! Frappez (cette impudique) sur le ventre et sur les mamelles," etc., etc. Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 661, 931, 1639.

[4] Ou plus exactement encore: sur les parties sexuelles, *χera* (voir Brugsch, Dict., 1124). Pour les mamelles le mot employé est *mna* (*ibid.*, p. 645).

[5] *Les hommes* (*n remu*) sont au pluriel, et le verbe au singulier, suivant une règle bien connue pour les collectifs. Confer.: *turba ruit* ou *ruunt*, *τα ζωα τρεχει*, etc. Les hommes qui chantent sont les amis et les disciples de Petosor, suivant en tout son exemple.

[6] Et alors ce sera pour être jugé par lui. (Pour le mot *bi*, ame, conf. Brugsch, Dict., 370.)

[7] *Ef na sini*. (Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 1240; Gram. Dém., 143.) La 3e pers. sing. est employée pour la 3e pers. plur., parcequ'il s'agit d'un collectif.

[8]  pour ⲁ (Brugsch, Dict., 1480) dont la forme causative est (*Ibid.*) Le mot que nous avons traduit plus haut *périples* est  .

Après cette objurgation pathétique et vraiment éloquente, la mère continue d'une façon plus douce et plus attendrie :—

"Tu as chassé[1] les malheureux pour la libation du commencement de l'année,[2] et toi tu as bu[3] avec les impies.[4]

"Maintenant dis :—Le soir[5] (de la vie) est venu pour moi. Je suis obligé[6] de passer.[7] Le moment[8] de la supplication[9] est sur moi, c'est-à-dire la mort.[10] Ils vont m'entrainer[11] près de ma mère.

"(Car) il est pour toi, Osiris! Tu passeras à l'instant en ses demeures funèbres, en la main des chasseurs d'ames! tu es ivre[12] (mais ils le réveilleront). . . . . .

"Ce sont leurs agents[13] qui jettent[14] l'homme au feu![15]

[1] Brugsch, Dict., 940.

[2] Le commencement de l'année sacrée, concordant primitivement avec le lever de Sothis et, pensait on, avec l'inondation du Nil (voir le décret de Canope), était une grande fête chez les Egyptiens, fête que nous voyons indiquée dans tous les calendriers hiéroglyphiques. Il paraît que ce jour là on faisait des libations sacrées auxquelles tout le monde prenait part, même les pauvres. Pour les mots *hat-renpe*, commencement de l'année, voir Brugsch, Dict., 931.

[3] Brugsch, Dict., 1181.

[4] Les Egyptiens avaient des lois cérémonielles sur les impuretés légales très analogues à celles des Juifs. J'ai déjà signalé la séquestration des femmes dans une chambre spéciale à certaines époques, usage que les contrats démotiques nous ont appris et que l'on trouve également dans le lévitique. M. Chabas, notre bien regretté maître, a signalé bien d'autres interdictions curieuses du même genre, et Mr. Miller est en train de publier une curieuse inscription grecque de Ptolémaïs, renfermant à ce sujet des textes très positifs et très importants. Le mot que nous traduisons "impies," veut littérallement dire "œil de mort." (Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 405 et 676.) En thébain le mot ⲃⲁⲗⲙⲉⲙⲟⲩ s'employait aussi (comme ⲃⲁⲗⲙⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩⲓ en memphitique) pour désigner les *Blemmyes* qui dévastèrent l'Égypte à l'époque romaine. Voir mon *Mémoire sur les Blemmyes* dans tome viii (2ᵉ partie, 1ʳᵉ série) des Mémoires présentés, etc., à l'Académie des Inscriptions, etc.

[5] Brugsch, Dict., 868.

[6] ϩⲣⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. (Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 982, et suiv.)

[7] Brugsch, Dict., 1240.

[8] Brugsch, Dict., 777.

[9] Brugsch, Dict., 1632.

[10] Brugsch, Dict., 676.

[11] ⲥⲱⲕ, *trahere.*

[12] Brugsch, Dict., 1565.

[13] Pour ce sens de *ret* ⲩ voir ma "Chrestomathie démotique."

[14] Pour ce mot voir les contrats de prets de blé.

[15] Variante démotique fréquente du mot , copte ⲁⲩ.

"Je pénétre[1] près d'eux en disant: venez[2] amener[3] à purification (COTϤ)! Ouvrez[4] moi la porte[5] pour que je vous fasse supplication. Je parle sur votre tête![6] Je vous supplie! .... — Mais toi, tu leur as ordonné[7] de ne pas le faire (par tes crimes)."

Ici les lacunes et l'état de détérioration du papyrus ne me permettent plus la traduction suivie; tout ce que je puis voir c'est que la mère continue à peindre les scènes d'outre tombe et le jugement qui attend son fils pécheur. Il ne faut pas oublier en effet que les Egyptiens croyaient aussi que *le feu*, après bien d'autres épreuves, était destiné à punir définitivement les damnés dans l'autre vie. Notre document n'est pas seul à nous parler des tourments de l'enfer égyptien et du feu preparé pour les pécheurs. Les peintures et inscriptions des sarcophages, ainsi que le livre de l'hémisphère inférieur, etc., sont pleins de traditions du même genre, dont la forme même a été conservée d'une façon bien remarquable par les Coptes convertis. On peut voir ce que j'ai dit là dessus dans mes articles sur *les Affres de la Mort chez les Egyptiens*, publiés dans la *Revue égyptologique*.[8] Aussi Naïchrat, cette pauvre mère, ne tarit-elle point sur ce sujet—ainsi qu'on le voit encore bien dans les versets très détériorés qui suivent et où elle peint son malheureux fils suppliant en vain le roi Osiris Ounnofré et les monstres mangeurs d'hommes qui sont chargés de tuer les méchants.

C'est sur cette question que se termine le *recto* du papyrus. Le commencement du *verso* appartient encore à la même série d'idées. Il débute par la phrase finale de cette première sommation (ayant trait sans doute à la sentence du juge

[1] ϩⲱⲭⲉ.

[2] Brugsch, Dict., 64; copte ⲁⲙⲟⲩ.

[3] Brugsch, Dict., 82.

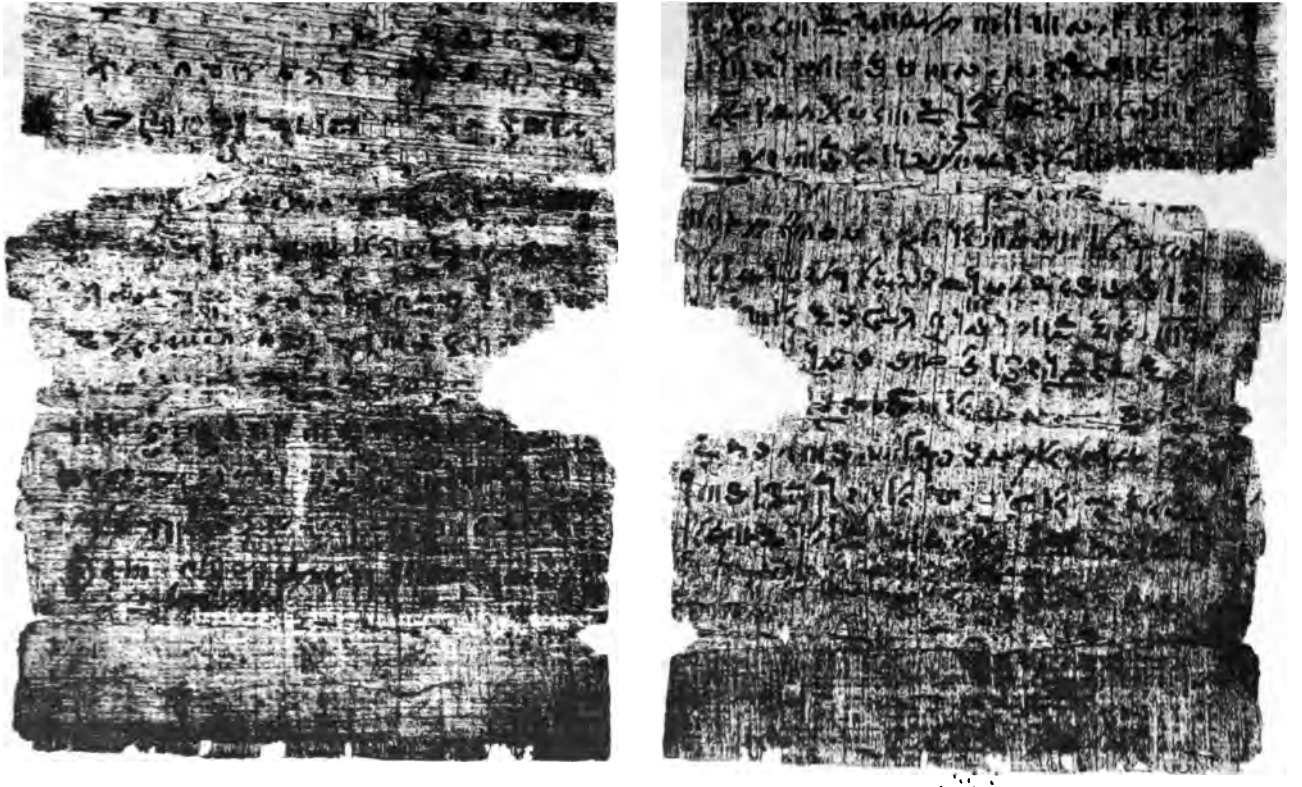
[4] répond au mot *un*, copte ⲟⲩⲱⲛ. (Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 1266.)

[5] Brugsch, Dict., 1182–1183.

[6] Brugsch, Dict., 1701.

[7] Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 1568. Ce mot signifie toujours ordonner dans les décrets de Rosette et de Canope.

[8] Vol. I, p. 139; II, pp. 18, 64.



DEMOTIC PAPYRUS IN THE POSSESSION OF A. DODGSON, ESQ.,

TRANSACTION.—SOC. BIBL. ARCH., 1883.

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

suprême) : "Il l'a chassé dehors du pays ! Faites entendre ces choses" !

Vient ensuite, après un blanc, une seconde sommation ou un second anathème, comme on voudra l'appeler. Cette seconde sommation est rédigée sur le même modèle que la première et en reproduit les principaux articles, mais avec de nouvelles amplifications, peut-être plus éloquentes encore.

La voici.

"J'ai dit ceci :—

"Ptu, fils de Nespmêté, je t'ai enlevé le nom que t'a donné ta mère. Je ne t'appellerai pas de ton nom, c'est-à-dire : Petosor, fils de Nespmêté.—Fais moi connaître ton cœur ;— je t'ai donné du pain, et tu as dépouillé ta mère.—Ruine moi,[1] toi qui t'es bâti tes maisons. Ils ont abondance en leurs maisons, dans lesquelles tu te souilles.[2] Tu chantes :—*Démolissez les ! Qu'on enlève le temple et les statues divines !* Avant qu'ils le fassent, je ferai[3] aller vers toi. Je viendrai à toi. Je te ferai démolir toi-même. Je te ferai ouvrir les yeux sur ces choses. Avant qu'ils le fassent, tu mourras, O le plus mauvais des pires !

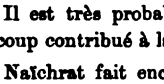
"J'ai prié ! J'ai parlé ! Celui là (le dieu) m'a fait t'immoler à lui avant qu'ils le fassent . . . . . .

"Voilà ce que j'ai dit à Pamaut, fils d'Horsiesi,[4] à savoir :— Ecris ces requêtes.—Qu'on leur donne accomplissement !

"Reconnais toi, malheureux ![5] Si tu ne lis pas ces choses devant eux (devant les dieux), eux ils te feront bien reconnaitre le mal (que tu as commis)."

A cet endroit la dernière ligne de la seconde sommation se rencontre avec des lignes écrites en sens inverse, c'est-à-

[1] Cette insistance sur ce chapitre semble prouver que Petosor avait fait valoir contre sa mère les droits qu'il tenait de son père et l'avait ainsi dépouillée, probablement pour subvenir aux œuvres chrétiennes et aux constructions qu'il avait entreprises.

[2]  .

[3] C'est ici un dieu—sans doute Osiris—qui parle par la bouche de Naïchrat.

[4] Il est très probable que le scribe, auquel la mère s'était adressée, aura beaucoup contribué à la rédaction de ces petites compositions littéraires.

[5] Naïchrat fait encore en terminant un appel à son fils afin de l'amener au repentir ; nous verrons, dans la troisième sommation, que ses efforts furents vains.

dire en débutant par le bas du verso. C'est une troisième sommation de Naïchrat, mais celle-ci est si effacée qu'on ne peut presque rien en tirer; on remarquera qu'elle a été écrite plusieurs mois après—elle est datée du mois d'épiphi. Après la date, elle débute par ces mots :—

"A dit Naïchrat, qui a enfanté *Tu*, fils de Nespmêté, fils de Petuarièsé :—Je ne puis le cacher (. . . . .). Je n'ai pu ouvrir ses yeux. Il n'a pas . . . . . quand j'ai parlé, quand j'ai prié . . . . . Pétros Psépoer, je ne t'appellerai pas de ton nom, du nom que t'a donné ta mère . . . . . ."

Je ne vois plus la suite, mais il me semble qu'en voilà assez pour reconnaître le caractère tout particulier de ce document. Petosor est sommé, à trois reprises, avec de longs intervalles, de revenir au bien, c'est-à-dire à la religion de ses pères, faute de quoi il est livré aux dieux vengeurs. Notre papyrus nous montre donc à quel point les passions religeuses étaient alors surexcitées dans la vallée du Nil. Il se livrait en effet un combat bien vif entre les partisans des divers cultes et des diverses doctrines philosophiques. Les uns—comme notre payenne — étaient pieusement attachés à la vieille religion de leur pays; les autres étaient devenus franchement épicuriens et n'accomplissaient plus que par habitude les rites funèbres, sans pour cela croire à la vie future—comme nous le voyons dans l'en-tête biographique démotique du papyrus bilingue Rhind, que MM. Birch et Brugsch ont les premiers fait connaître. D'autres étaient devenus ardemment chrétiens, comme sans doute notre Petosor et ces innombrables martyrs qui devaient bientôt après illustrer le christianisme égyptien. D'autres—comme les magiciens des papyrus gnostiques de Leide, Londres, et Paris—essayaient, au milieu des pratiques les plus immondes, de fusionner ensemble les diverses doctrines, et particulièrement les religions égyptienne et grecque et la religion juive. C'est de ce mouvement, épuré (par suite du contact et du nouveau mélange des idées chrétiennes) et plus savamment systématisé suivant l'enseignement de l'école saïte,[1] qu'est sorti, selon la remarque formelle et très exacte de Tertullien, le singulier gnosticisme de

[1] Je reviendrai sur cette branche très intéressante de la question.

Valentin.[1] Enfin, il ne faut pas oublier l'école de philosophes sceptiques à laquelle appartient le livre des *entretiens du Chacal et de la Chatte.* Ce livre démotique est également des plus intéressants à consulter pour l'histoire des premiers siècles du christianisme, auquel il fait visiblement allusion. Je ne puis échapper à la tentation d'en citer ici un passage curieux où il est question de la doctrine de la charité chrétienne à l'égard des ennemis, charité que paraît, du reste, avoir peu pratiquée notre héros Petosor.

Dans la partie des discussions[2] de la chatte et du chacal à laquelle je fais allusion on en était venu à ces grandes questions tout-à-fait vitales pour l'humanité, qui ont préoccupé l'esprit de Job et qu'il dramatise dans son admirable poême: le bien, le mal, la responsabilité humaine, la rétribution finale.

Ici le cadre de la dispute s'est encore élargi.

Job et ses amis croyaient également à Dieu et à la providence. Ils discutaient seulement sur la manière dont s'exerçait cette providence, ainsi que la juste rétribution du bien et du mal qui en est la conséquence forcée, soit dans cette vie, soit dans l'autre. C'était, sous une autre forme, l'objet des préoccupations de Socrate au moment de sa mort, préoccupations se rattachant toujours, comme à leur racine, au principe d'une divinité paternelle, présidant aux destinées du monde.

Dans notre livre démotique, c'est ce principe même qui est attaqué. Pour trouver dans l'histoire philosophique quelque chose de vraiment analogue aux théories que le chacal *Koufi* explique à la chatte éthiopienne, il faut descendre jusqu'à notre temps et consulter les livres d'un illustre savant anglais, Mr. Darwin.

Struggle for life.—Tel paraît être la devise de notre chacal, et c'est cette devise qu'il commente, pour ainsi dire, dans

[1] Voir à ce sujet notre travail intitulé "Première Étude sur le Mouvement des esprits pendant les premiers siècles de notre ère. Le philosophe Sécundus."

[2] J'emprunte ce passage des entretiens de la chatte et du chacal à mon article publié dans la numéro de la *Revue égyptologique* qui va paraître (2e année, p. 84, et suiv.); mais j'ai revu et corrigé la traduction sur beaucoup de points, d'après mes mot-à-mot postérieurs, faits pendant mon cours de démotique au Louvre.

les pages qui vont suivre, en en cherchant les causes et en en déduisant les conséquences avec une logique impitoyable.

Selon ce système, il n'y a ni divinité protectrice, ni rétribution finale. Le mal, les violences qui se passent sur la terre, sont voulus par la divine nature ; tous les vivants sont faits pour s'entremanger. Le plus fort opprime le plus faible ; c'est la loi même de son être. Il faut que les plus faibles disparaissent pour entretenir la vie des autres. Ventre affamé n'a pas d'oreilles et c'est bouder contre son estomac que d'avoir des idées de justice, de douceur, d'honnêteté, de rétribution divine. Le mal est le souverain bien.

Notre chacal est un érudit, et, d'ailleurs, il a pour lui la grande autorité du vautour—le vautour, symbole de Maut, mère des dieux ! Il raconte à ce sujet comment Isis fut un jour scandalisée des procédés brutaux de cet oiseau divin. L'épouse de *l'Être bon* fit des reproches au vautour sur sa conduite. Mais le vautour lui répondit que, lui aussi, il avait eu des scrupules sous ce rapport, et que, dégouté des excès dont le monde était plein, il avait alors résolu d'étudier cette question, et, en attendant la solution, de s'abstenir de tout massacre. Il tint parole jusqu'au soir. Mais le soir, sa gorge était déssechée et, dans l'intervalle, l'estomac aidant, il avait réfléchi.

Ce fut comme une vision : une révélation divine des secrets de Ra, le maître des dieux ; et cette révélation était celle que certains esprits devaient chercher plus tard sous ces mots de Darwin : *la lutte pour la vie.*

On verra le détail des preuves dans le discours de notre chacal, auquel nous voulons conserver intacts ses droits d'auteur. Qu'il nous suffise de dire que la chatte éthiopienne, imbue des vieilles traditions religieuses, ne voulut pas se rendre à ses arguments, qu'il étayait pourtant de nombreuses citations, quelque peu transformées, des textes sacrés de l'Egypte. Elle defendit même avec un certain talent des idées se rapprochant beaucoup, peut-être inconsciemment, des doctrines chrétiennes, qui tendaient à se répandre partout dans la vallée du Nil. Le chacal fut donc obligé de revenir à la charge. Cette fois, voulant en finir, il fit tête et s'attaqua directement, bien qu'en paraboles, à

cet axiome chrétien, qu'on chercherait en vain dans la morale égyptienne, déjà si pure pourtant : *Fais le bien pour le mal*, ou, sous la forme citée par lui : *on complote contre toi—tu arriveras, tu feras le bien.*

L'apologue qu'il nous raconte a pour but de nous montrer que cette maxime n'est qu'une ruse de guerre des forts, qui sont habiles et qui veulent persuader aux faibles de se laisser manger. On se souvient sans doute de la fable du lion malade et du renard. L'apologue du lion et des chacals représente la même donnée.

Nous allons maintenant en arriver à notre texte.

C'est le chacal Koufi qui parle :—

"Vois l'oiseau ! Écoute l'oiseau ! Il dit :—"Ce que le voisin me fait, cela aussi je le lui fais."

"—Le vautour dévorait les *abu*[1] de la montagne. Isis vit cet oiseau qui n'épargnait nul autre. Il arriva un jour qu'Isis lui dit : Voyons ! oiseau ! mon œil est choqué de tes actions et ma vue de tes méfaits. L'oiseau dit : Il en est ainsi parcequ'il m'est arrivé ce qui n'est arrivé à aucun autre oiseau volant, en dehors de moi. Isis lui dit : Oiseau, qu'est cela ? L'oiseau dit : C'est quand j'ai vu jusqu'au mauvais principe du monde, et quand j'ai connu l'univers jusqu'à l'abyme. Isis lui dit : Oiseau, comment cela t'est il arrivé ? L'oiseau reprit : Cela m'est arrivé parceque je me suis attardé à la maison, et que j'ai laissé mon repas en disant : Grande est la vision que je ferai. Je méditerai à cela, et je resterai dans ma maison. En conséquence je n'ai pas mangé après cela, parceque, de même que ton œil était choqué, mon œil aussi était choqué en voyant ces choses. Je restai donc encore. Mais ce qui m'est arrivé à moi n'est arrivé à aucun autre oiseau volant, en dehors de moi. Cela m'a été donné quand j'ai enchanté le ciel pour écouter ce qui s'y passe, quand j'ai entendu ce que Ra, le disque, le maître des dieux, a établi pour le monde, chaque jour, dans la nuit. Isis dit : Voyons, oiseau, ce qui t'est arrivé et pourquoi. Il lui dit : Cela m'est arrivé parceque je n'ai pas porté la nourriture à ma bouche pendant le jour, et que je n'ai pas mangé non plus après que le disque

[1] L'oiseau *ab* est déjà bien connu.

du soleil s'est couché; car, lorsque je tarde ainsi jusqu'au soir, ma gorge est disséchée.

"Voilà qu'Isis vit l'oiseau et les choses qui étaient dans son cœur. Il passa un moment à rire. L'oiseau comprit qu'Isis avait vu pourquoi il riait. L'oiseau reprit: C'est une parole vraie que celle-ci. C'est une audition d'un oiseau à Dieu celle qui fut à moi, une audition divine venant du ciel sur la terre. Le reptile même fait annonce de cela devant moi, et je fais semblablement pour lui, reptile. L'insecte *sir* (le ciron), qui est à l'arrière de Dieu par sa misère, le lézard le mange. Et ce qu'il fait, on le lui fait. La chauve souris mange le lézard. Le serpent mange la chauve souris. Le faucon mange le serpent sur la mer;—car l'oiseau entend cela!

"Isis regarda l'oiseau pour voir si cela était vrai. Isis vit dans la mer. Elle vit ce qui se passe dans l'eau et se qui était arrivé au serpent et au faucon. Isis dit: Vois! oiseau! C'est vérité complête que toutes les paroles que tu as dites. Pendant que tu parlais, j'ai fait leur prise en considération. Elles se sont toutes trouvées vraies devant moi.

"L'oiseau poursuivit:

"On a fait[1] que le serpent et le faucon tombent dans la mer. Mange cela le poisson *at* ( ) qui y habite. On a fait que le gryphon mange le poisson *at*, et que le poisson *at* devore d'autres poissons nommes *nar* ( ). Il reste dans les cavernes: on en a fait un lion dans la mer. Il fait proie du poisson *nar* dans les coins. Ils ont fait cela (les dieux). Un *serref* (oiseau monstrueux, le *roch* des arabes, en hiéroglyphes) les flaire. Il les saisit dans ses griffes à l'instant. Il les emporte par la rapine dans les terres célestes. Ils ont fait cela. Voilà qu'il les dépose. Il les déchire sur la montagne devant lui. Il en fait sa nourriture. Si je dis une parole fausse, viens avec moi à la montagne supérieure! Je te les ferai voir, O Isis! déchirés et palpitants devant lui tandis qu'il en fait sa nourriture.

"A ces mots le vautour emporta Isis à la montagne;

[1] *Tuu set*, ils ont fait cela. Cette expression, qui se répéte sans cesse dans cette partie du récit, a trait à la fatalité.

toutes les paroles qu'avait dites Maut étaient des paroles vraies; Isis vit, et entendit l'oiseau, crier:

"Il n'y a rien sur la terre que ce que fait le dieu—la parole qu'il prononce dans la nuit. Celui qui fait une chose bonne la voit se retourner pour lui en chose mauvaise. Celle-là après celle-ci.

"Écoute l'oiseau! Qu'en est-il du meurtre?—Le lion! le *serref* lui fait violence.—On le laisse les prier (prier les dieux). Entends l'oiseau! Vois l'oiseau!—C'est la vérité!

"Est-ce que tu ne sais pas que le *serref* est le plus fort animal du monde entier, celui-là! le roi terrible de quiconque est sur la terre, celui-là! La rétribution!—Il n'y pas de rétributeur pour la lui rétribuer!—Son nez est celui de l'aigle, son œil celui de l'homme, ses flancs ceux du lion, ses oreilles celles des .... ses écailles celles de la tortue de mer, sa queue celle du serpent.—Quel souffle (quel être animé) est de cette sorte quand il frappe. Qui donc au monde est semblable?

"La mort est la rétribution suprême—le roi terrible de quiconque est encore sur le monde.

"Tu sais cela—*Celui qui tue, est ce qu'on le tuera! Celui qui ordonne de tuer, ne le tuera-t-on pas lui même*[1] *comme rétribution?*[2]

"Il faut[3] que je te dise ces paroles pour faire entrer ceci dans ton cœur: qu'il n'y a pas moyen d'écarter[4] le dieu, le soleil, le disque sublime, la rétribution venant de Dieu.

"Les dieux prennent soin de qui donc sur la terre, depuis l'insecte *sir* (le ciron) qui n'a personne plus petit que lui, et

[1] C'est encore une citation des livres saints égyptiens, détournée de son sens véritable. Le chapitre 125 du Rituel contenant le décalogue égyptien, fait dire au défunt dans sa confession negative: "Je n'ai pas tué, je n'ai pas fait tuer," de même qu'il lui fait dire: "point de craintif ni d'indigent par mon fait; je n'ai pas fait ce qui est l'abomination des dieux; je n'ai pas fait tort au serviteur devant son maître; je n'ai pas fait avoir faim; je n'ai pas fait avoir soif; je n'ai pas fait pleurer."—(Voir mon édition du *Rituel démotique de Pamonth.*)

[2] Mot-à-mot: "comme prix." C'est le mot *set*, copte ϹⲰⲦ, *pretio redimere. Confer.* Brugsch Dict., p. 1335.

[3] Le texte a la forme optative ⲉⲑⲣⲓϫⲱ, "que je dise."

[4] Autre expressions des livres saints égyptiens (également détournée de son sens primitif); le chapitre 125 du Rituel défend *d'arrêter un dieu dans sa manifestation.* (Voir *Rituel de Pamonth*, pp. 24–25.)

qui puisse parvenir à son ignominie, jusqu'au *serref*, qui n'a personne plus grand que lui?

"Le bien, le mal, que l'on fait sur la terre, c'est Ra qui le fait recevoir en disant: Que cela arrive!

"On dit: *Je suis petit de taille devant le soleil et il me voit. De même qu'est sa vue, de même son flair, son audition. Qui donc sur la terre lui échappe encore? Il voit ce qui est dans l'œuf.*[1]

"—Il en est ainsi—et celui qui mange un œuf est comme celui qui tue.[2]

"Leur prière (la prière des victimes du meurtre) ne restera pas encore après eux et pour eux. Si je me transporte dans la bonne demeure[3] pour les y voir, la prière pour leur protection—pour le sang des victimes qu'on a tuées,—on ne la fait pas parvenir devant Ra.

"On dit: *Ils meurent, mais on recherchera leurs os. On les contentera après leur mort. Ils prient en implorant la protection des dieux et des hommes à l'occasion de leur sang.*[4]

"—C'est pour calmer leur cœur! car si je parle de la rétribution de leur vengeance,[5]—de cette rétribution qui accomplit enfin leur demande de protection pour leur donner paix—je ne dis pas la vérité; car la prière ne tue pas le coupable—jamais!—Il sera après—il vivra—il mourra. Il n'écartera pas cela aussi.

"Que je te fasse même savoir, O chatte, que, toi même, tu n'es pas celle que la rétribution[6] ne frappera point. Je t'apprendrai que la chatte meurt—cette autre immortelle—toi, O chatte, à qui on donne la rétribution et la sentence du

[1] Autre citation sacrée: les textes religieux disent sans cesse que Ra a connu ses élus—et particulièrement les rois qui devaient le représenter sur terre—pendant qu'ils étaient dans l'œuf, c'est-à-dire dès leur conception et bien avant leur naissance.

[2] Il détruit de même un être vivant; et cependant on ne se fait pas scrupule de manger un œuf.

[3] Nom ordinaire de la tombe dans les textes égyptiens, et particulièrement dans les textes démotiques.

[4] C'est une citation curieuse des croyances populaires à cette époque.

[5] C'est le mot ⲙⲉⲩⲓⲕⲩ, synonyme memphite de ϫⲓⲕϩⲁ (Voir "le martyre de St. Ignace," que je publie en ce moment dans la *Revue égyptologique*.

[6] La mort.

salut,[1] car fille du soleil on appelle la chatte[2]—On bavarde de cela du moins—et celle qui bavarde à nos oreilles c'est—le monde.

"Elle rit alors, la chatte éthiopienne. Son cœur fut doux pour les paroles qu'avait prononcées le petit chacal Koufi. Elle fit cette maxime, à savoir: *Je ne te tuerai point. Je ne te ferai pas tuer.*[3] Ma honte rend témoignage au mal comme aux bons commandements qui t'ont été donnés.[4] Comment ma face te serait-elle hostile quand tu n'as fait aucun mal après tous ces bons commandements? Tu as écarté de mon cœur la flamme de la colère, et tu l'as fait revenir à la joie.

"Elle lui dit encore:—Quand le faible est violenté, la rétribution approche. Le meurtrier n'arrive point au but; car l'homme puissant ne chassera pas dieu de sa maison.

"Elle dit encore: Il ne donne pas la chair en nourriture à la bête féroce; car ce n'est pas lui qui fait faire violence. Le fort qui inflige de la peine—est plus fort que lui celui qui la supporte.

"Le ciel porte les nuées de l'orage—la tempête enlève la lumière un instant. Les nuages viennent interposer leur ombre devant l'apparition du soleil le matin.[5] Il fera resplendir la lumière en son lieu, avec la joie, ses rayons, avec la vie"!

* * * * * * * *

Ici les mots effacés, et les lacunes sont tellement nombreuses que je ne puis saisir la suite du texte pendant sept

[1] *mai net'*, "le: *qu'il soit sauvé*"!

[2] Les textes sacrés égyptiens appellent *œil du soleil* et *fille du soleil* chacune des déesses à tête de chatte ou de lionne, comme Tafnut, Bast, Sekhet, etc. Voir aussi sur la légende de la fille du soleil le décret trilingue de Canope.

[3] La chatte fait ici allusion aux préceptes du chapitre 125 du Rituel, véritable décalogue égyptien. Les mots: *je ne te tuerai pas, je ne te ferai pas tuer*, se rapportent à l'un de ces préceptes déjà cités par nous. Le chacal venait de parler longtemps du meurtre. La chatte prend la chose en plaisanterie et lui dit qu'après tout ces thèses philosophiques n'ont pas lieu de la mettre en colère; car tout cela n'est que théorique et pratiquement le chacal n'a fait aucun mal. Pourquoi donc lui montrer un visage sombre? Il vaut mieux en revenir à la joie.

[4] C'est l'excellent argument tiré de la conscience humaine.

[5] En Egypte, particulièrement au Caire (Memphis), dans la cœur de l'été, le ciel est toujours couvert le matin jusque vers huit heures, moment où le soleil, échauffant l'atmosphère, dissipe les nuées produites par l'évaporation diurne de l'eau du Nil.

lignes. Puis c'est de nouveau le chacal qui prend la parole et qui dit :

"Vivat !—écoute l'histoire qu'on m'a racontée.

"Il y avait des chacals sur la montagne. Ils disputèrent sur la vérité de ce qu'on avait dit : *On complote contre toi—tu arriveras : tu feras le bien.*[1] On ne fut par d'accord. Chaque chacal parlait avec son compagnon. Ils buvaient, mangeaient .... s'excitaient de cœur dans un bois de la montagne. Ils aperçurent un lion qui souvent les avait frappés—chassant et se dirigeant vers eux. Ils s'arrêtèrent. Ils s'enfuirent.—Le lion fit arrêter deux chacals et leur dit :—Est-ce que vous ne me voyez pas? Je veux aller vers vous. Qu'est-ce que la fuite devant moi que vous faites?—Ils dirent cette parole véridique :—Notre seigneur ! nous t'avons vu les frapper, nous avons fait nos réflexions : à savoir que nous ne fuirions pas devant toi si tu nous épargnais et ne nous mangeais pas. Notre peau est sur notre dos, nous ne voulons pas la rendre, à plus faute raison que tu nous manges. Tu peines pour faire proie. C'est la mort mauvaise qui arrive. Rugit la bête féroce qui me prendra. Il faut que je fuie loin de sa bouche. —Le lion entendit la grande voix, la voix des chacals. Mais vraiment c'est comme si les grands ne pouvaient jamais rencontrer la vérité. Il s'en alla.

"Et voilà pourquoi je repousse au loin cette parole aujourd'hui : 'Madame : *On complote contre toi—tu arriveras : tu feras le bien.*'"

Evidemment la maxime combattue ici par notre chacal était toute chrétienne, et du christianisme le plus pur : celui des apôtres et des martyrs. Quoi qu'en dise notre philosophe sceptique, cette doctrine est bien préférable à celle de son froid égoïsme, ainsi, du reste, qu'aux malédictions entrecroisées par Petosor et sa mère. C'est la charité qui a fait la société chrétienne et par elle la civilisation moderne dans ce qu'elle à de meilleur. Plus on s'en éloigne, plus on se rapproche de la vraie barbarie. Rien de plus intéressant que d'apercevoir ainsi les débuts du nouveau monde dans les écrits et sous les caractères multiples du vieux monde égyptien, déjà si loin de nous.

[1] Mot-à-mot : tu feras un bienfait grand et bon .

Mais vous allez sans doute me demander la date exacte de nos deux documents. Je ne suis point en état de vous répondre d'une façon précise. La paléographie démotique seule (d'ailleurs bien changeante selon les scribes) doit nous servir de guide, et elle est loin d'avoir livré tous ses secrets. Ce qui est certain, d'après leurs caractères paléographiques, c'est que ces deux papyrus appartiennent également à l'époque romaine. Mais c'est justement une de ces époques où l'écriture démotique est le plus diversement transformée L'anathème prononcé contre Petosor se rapproche beaucoup de certains reçus démotiques du second siècle. Il est certainement postérieur au papyrus bilingue Rhind (siècle d'Auguste), et paraît assez probablement antérieur au chacal Koufi. Celui-ci à son tour est antérieur aux écrits gnostiques de Leide, Londres, et Paris, puisque le scribe même (assez récent) qui a écrit ces livres gnostiques, a tracé *après coup* une page de ses élucubrations sur notre document philosophique. Mais pour éclaircir toutes ces questions, il faudrait obtenir un peu partout la publication des divers papyrus démotiques par les procédés de photographie reportée à l'encre d'imprimerie qui seront employées pour la planche annexée à cet article. On pourrait alors comparer les diverses écritures, les diverses époques, etc., et avoir enfin des reproductions véritablement scientifiques. Notre cher Maître et Président Dr. Birch a déjà publié ainsi par *fac-simile* les papyrus hiératiques du British Museum, et je sais par lui même qu'il voudrait bien en faire autant pour les papyrus démotiques. Mais les fonds manquent. Laissez-moi donc, pour finir, vous recommander cette œuvre, Messieurs et chers collègues. Obtenez des fonds. Faites faire cette publication phototypique, que j'accompagnerai bien volontiers des traductions; car les papyrus démotiques du British Museum, déjà tant de fois étudiés par moi, renferment, je puis vous l'assurer, de véritables trésors. Nous aurons ainsi les uns et les autres rendu à la science les services qui lui sont dus.

PIÈCES RELATIVES À UN MARIAGE DU TEMPS DE DARIUS.

PAR E. REVILLOUT, &c., &c., &c.

Read 7th November, 1882.

LES contrats de mariage ont fréquents dans les papyrus démotiques d'époque ptolémaïque; ils sont beaucoup plus rares dans les documents d'époque antérieure. Le plus ancien[1] est un acte démotique du temps de Psammétique, que j'ai déjà publié. Il s'agit d'une femme libre se faisant volontairement esclave, moyennant une somme, peut-être fictive, afin de devenir la concubine de son nouveau maître. Voici cet acte curieux dont je viens de revoir la traduction avec soin en le comparant à de nouveaux textes analogues.[2]

"An 4, Mesoré, 27 du roi Psammétique.

"La femme Tenèsi, fille d'Anachamen, dit à Amon, fils de Puta:—

"Tu m'as donné—et mon cœur en est satisfait—mon argent pour être à toi servante. Je suis ta servante. Personne au monde ne peut m'écarter de ton service. Je ne puis m'opposer[3] (à cet asservissement). Je te donne encore[4] jusqu'à

[1] Les deux stèles hiéroglyphiques que M. Maspero nomme des contrats de mariage ne sont, à proprement parler, que des décrets rendus au nom de la divinité et attribuant à la postérité de deux princesses les biens qui leur appartenaient. Ces décrets supposent un mariage au moins possible. Mais ils ne le spécifient pas et n'indiquent pas même le conjoint. Restent donc seulement les deux mentions fugitives de mariage *hotep* déjà signalées par notre cher maître Dr. Birch.

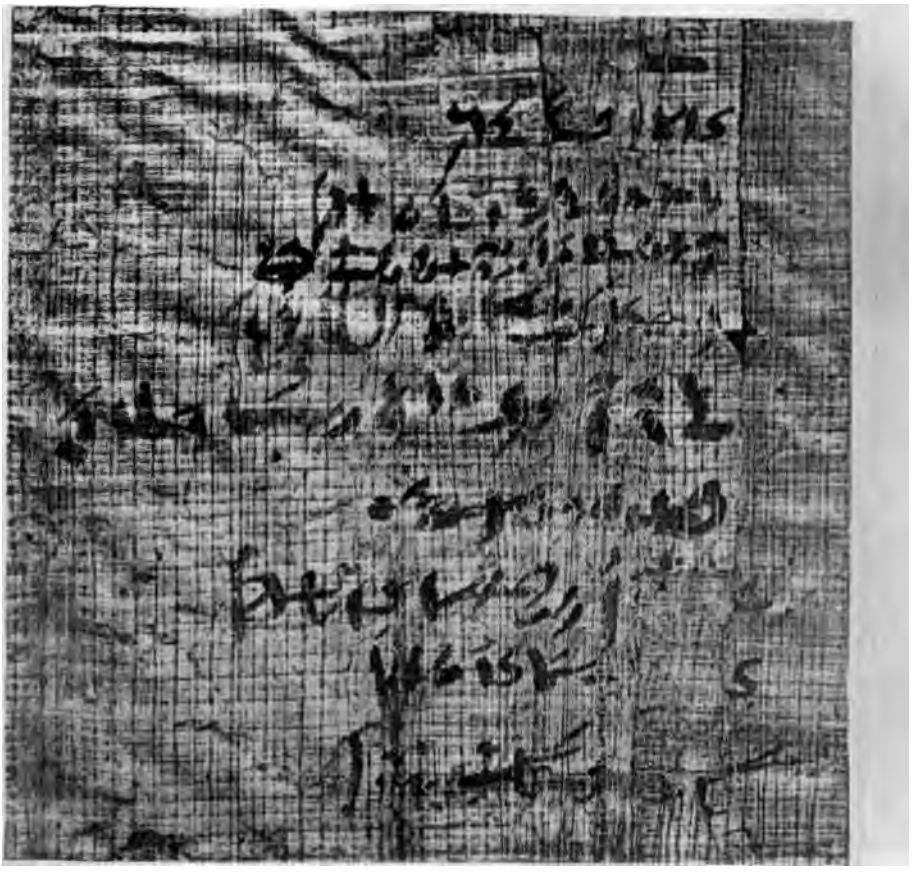
[2] Le texte (dont l'original est au Louvre, et que je donne aux planches) est un peu effacé en certains points. Je viens de le collationner scrupuleusement. Plusieurs mots (qui se trouvent dans les ventes d'esclaves analogues) ont été rétablis. Parmi ces mots se trouve le nouveau syllabique *bok*, que les ventes susdites et les preuves positives fournies par les bilingues grèco-démotiques et hiéroglyphico-démotiques, etc., etc., m'ont permis de préciser.

[3] Pour le mot qui se lit *nemm*, comparez la vente d'esclave publiée par Caillaud, pl. xxvi. (L'original en est à la Bibl. Nat.)

[4] Le mot démotique *an*, encore (avec le déterminatif des jambes), qui se répéte plusieurs fois dans notre acte, vient d'être précisé par un contrat du temps d'Artaxercès.

DEMOTIC MARRIAGE CONTRACTS,

Anastasi, No. 1054.

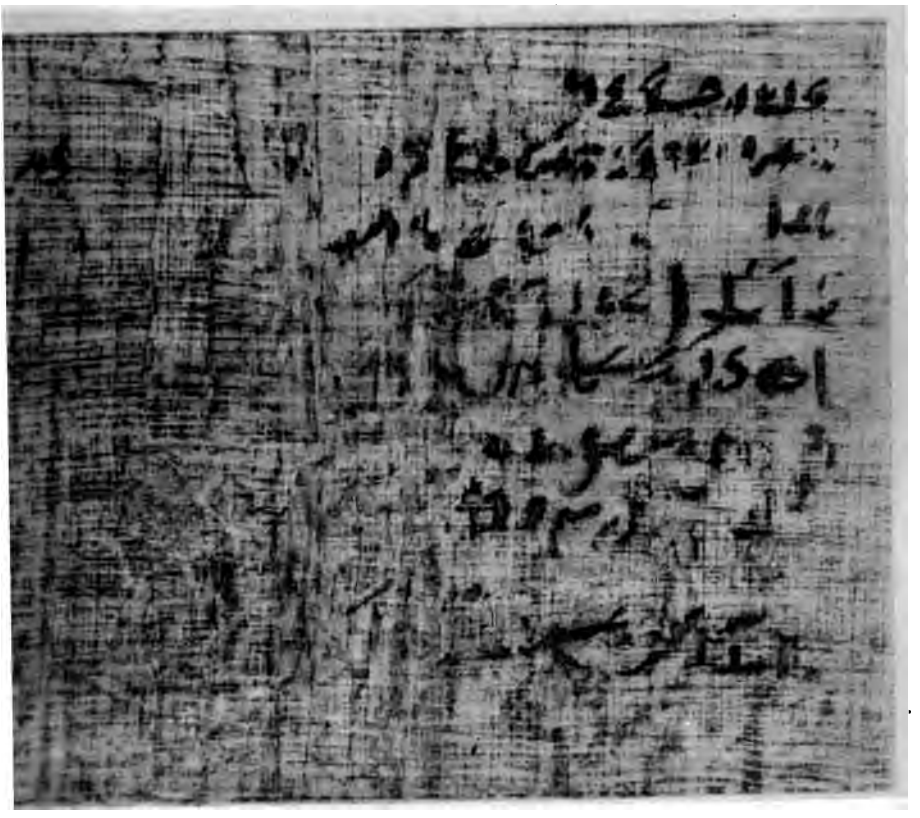


ENDORSEMENT.

NAMES OF WITNESSES.

DEMOTIC MARRIAGE CONTRACTS,

Anastasi, No. 1054.



ENDORSEMENT.

NAMES OF WITNESSES.

E CONTRACTS IN THE

RIUS, BRITISH MUSEUM A

la totalité de mes biens de dame de maison, à la totalité de mes biens au monde, à mes enfants que j'enfanterai, à tout ce que je posséde et posséderai, même les vêtements qui sont sur mon dos, depuis l'an 4, Mésoré, ci-dessus, en année quelconque, jusqu'à jamais et toujours!

"Celui qui viendra à toi pour t'inquiéter à cause de moi au nom de parole quelconque au monde, en disant:—ce n'est pas ta servante celle-là,—te donnera les biens quelconques de dame de maison qui seront à nous chez toi. Ta servante sera ta servante encore, et mes biens tu les auras en tout lieu ou tu les trouveras.

"Serment à Amon! Serment au roi! Point à te servir[1] au dehors par esclave encore. Point à dire nous avons fait l'acte marital[2] en toute similitude que ci-dessus. Il n'y a point à faire de similitude de ces choses. Point à dire que tu peux m'écarter[3] du service de la chambre dans laquelle tu es."

Evidemment il ne s'agit là que d'un mariage servile analogue à celui qu'ont connu les juifs, et dont la minute, par toutes ses formules, rentre plutôt encore dans le titre légal de l'esclavage que dans celui du mariage.

Tout autre est le caractère de deux actes du temps de Darius. L'égalité y était parfaite entre l'homme et la femme. Voici l'un:—[4]

"An 9, Epiphi, du roi Darius.

"Le choachyte de la nécropole Petnofréhotep, fils de Neshor . . . dont la mère est Set-hek-ban, dit à la femme Tahei, fille de . . . . . dont la mère est Tahonési:—

"Je t'ai établie pour femme. T'appartiennent toutes

[1] La même prescription se retrouve pour l'esclave concubine dans l'Exode xxi, versets 7 et suivants; tout ce passage de la loi juive est vraiment d'une analogie bien frappante avec notre acte.

[2] *Ka* . Conf. Brugsch, Dict., 1435.

[3] Cette partie du texte avait été mal lue et mal reproduite dans la *Revue*.

[4] Ce contrat a été reproduit en *facsimile* dans les Denkmäler de Lepsius, Abth. VI, Bl. 125, 1. L'aimable conservateur du Musée de Berlin, Mr. Stern, a bien voulu m'en envoyer une photographie qui m'a permis de rectifier plusieurs points.

choses du monde dépendant *du faire à toi mari.*[1] Je te les abandonne depuis le jour ci-dessus à jamais."

L'autre est fort analogue :—[2]

"An 3, Payni, du roi Darius :—

"Le choachyte de la nécropole Ptu, fils de Nesmin, dit à la femme Sébast (?), fille de Nesmin :—

"Je t'ai établie pour femme. Je t'abandonne *le faire à toi mari* depuis le jour ci-dessus. Je ne puis y échapper[3] en tout lieu où j'irai depuis le jour ci-dessus à jamais."

Dans ces contrats rien d'autre que le mariage lui-même n'est stipulé; on ne voit intervenir aucune des clauses et charges pécuniares si lourdes que la femme imposait au mari dans les contrats de mariage d'époque ptolémaïque. Un troisième document, de l'an 30 du roi Darius,[4] que j'ai publié dans la *Revue égyptologique* va même encore plus loin.

Ce n'est pas le mari qui dit à sa femme, comme dans les contrats ptolémaïques Thèbains: "Je t'ai prise pour femme; Je t'ai donné tant d'argenteus[5] pour ton don nuptial. . . . . Si je te méprise, si je prends une autre femme que toi, je te donnerai tant d'argenteus, en dehors de ceux que tu as reçus pour ton don nuptial. . . . . La totalité de mes biens présents et à venir est en garantie des paroles ci-dessus." C'est au contraire, la femme qui s'adresse au mari, et lui dit: "Tu m'as

[1] Je traduis mot-à-mot.

[2] Voir Denkmäler, Abth. VI, Bl. 125, 111. Pour cet acte encore Mr. Stern m'a envoyé une photographie fort utile.

[3] *An-ei-rex ha ebol-het-f.* "Je ne puis me tenir debout en dehors de lui."

[4] Cet acte est publié dans les Denkmäler, Abth. VI, Bl. 115, 11, mais j'en ai, de plus, pris une copie très attentive lors de mon dernier voyage de Berlin.

[5] Pour la question des monnaies égyptiennes mentionnées dans les contrats démotiques, et particulièrement la valeur de l'argenteus équivalant à 5 sekels = tétradrachmes ptolémaïques, ou à 20 drachmes, voir *Revue égyptologique*, Paris, Leroux, éditeur, 2e année, No. 11, et 3e année, No. 11. Nos conclusions viennent du reste d'être confirmées d'une façon bien remarquable par un bilingue du British Museum, la planchette 5849, portant dans le grec 70 drachmes (ⲗ ⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲏⲭⲟⲛⲧⲁ), et dans le démotique, "trois argenteus et $\frac{5}{10}$." Le dixième d'argenteus était un didrachme, et primitivement un Kati (confer: ⲕⲓⲧⲉ = didracha), puisque l'argenteus—*outen* (ou outen d'argent), pesant 90 grammes, a été d'abord assimilé à 20 drachmes attiques, pesant 87 grammes environ, puis à 20 drachmes ptolémaïques pesant beaucoup moins.

prise pour femme aujourd'hui. Tu m'as donné $\frac{1}{10}$ d'argenteus[1] fondu du temple de Ptah pour ma dot quand tu t'es établi à moi comme mari. Que je te méprise, que j'aime un autre homme en dehors de toi, c'est moi qui te donnerai $\frac{9}{10}$ d'argenteus fondus du temple de Ptah, en dehors du dixième d'argenteus fondu du temple de Ptah ci-dessus que tu m'as donné pour mon don nuptial. Je te céderai le tiers de totalité des biens qui sont à moi ou que j'acquérrai, sans alléguer aucun acte, aucune parole au monde."[2]

Cette fois je viens de retrouver au British Museum, sous le No. 1054 Anastasi, un papyrus, du même règne, qui se rapporte à un tout autre genre de conventions matrimoniales. A l'époque ptolémaïque,—en dehors des contrats Thèbains auxquels nous faisions allusion tout à l'heure et qui assuraient à la femme: 1° un don nuptial, 2° une pension alimentaire, en partie en argent et en partie en nature (blé et huile, pension qui parfois était remplacée par la communauté du tiers dans les biens du mari), 3° une promesse d'établissement comme femme, 4° une indemnité pour le cas ou le mari mépriserait sa femme et en prendrait une autre, 5° la reconnaissance explicite du fils aîné *qui devait naître* de ce mariage, comme maître de tous les biens présents et à venir du mari,[3] 6° l'hypothèque légale donnée comme garantie à l'épouse sur les biens de son époux,—en dehors, dis-je, de ces actes Thèbains auxquels Hérodote et Diodore ont fait allusion, nous trouvons aussi à la même période, et surtout à Memphis, des contrats basés sur un principe tout différent et dont j'ai déjà parlé dans mon article intitulé un *quasi mariage*, paru dans le dernier numéro de la *Revue égyptologique*. Ainsi que je le disais alors, aucun contrat de mariage proprement dit n'intervient

[1] Ce contrat, dont le texte se trouve dans les Denkm., Abth. VI, Bl. 125, No. 11, débute par ces mots: "An 30, Thot, du roi Darius. La femme Isis, fille du choachyte de la nécropole Anachamen, mère Tbahor, dit au choachyte de la nécropole Haeroou, fils de Pêchytès, dont la mère est Niftesop: tu m'as prise pour femme, etc."

[2] Voir *Revue égyptologique* (Paris, Leroux, rue Bonaparte 28), 2ᵉ année, p. 270.

[3] "Mon fils aîné, ton fils aîné, sera le maître de tous mes biens présents et à venir." Ainsi que nous l'avons déjà remarqué, le fils aîné établi ainsi comme χυριος, avait ensuite à partager avec ses frères plus jeunes les biens venant du père et de la mère. Voir les études parues dans la *Revue égyptologique*, et mon *cours de droit égyptien*. (Leroux, éditeur.)

dans ce genre d'unions; nous en avons la preuve positive; car ces sortes de contrats sont toujours cités dans les règlements qui en sont la conséquence. Au contraire, dans tous les faits connus de ce genre, il n'y eut pas *d'écrit de prise pour femme;* il n'y eut pas *d'établissement comme femme;* et cependant la femme nomme *mari* son conjoint; elle ne fait aucun acte sans son consentement, à partir du *προσταγμα* de Philopator sur l'autorité maritale, *προσταγμα* si contraire aux anciennes traditions: bref tout se passe comme dans un ménage régulier; et si nous voulons voir l'origine et la preuve de ce nouvel *état civil,* nous ne trouvons qu'un contrat de prêt.

Il est vrai que ce contrat de prêt nous donne tous les éléments pécuniaires qu'on rencontre d'ordinaire dans les contrats de mariage; on y rencontre à la fois la somme qui représente le don nuptial, la pension alimentaire qui doit être soldée chaque année par le mari à la femme, l'hypothèque légale grevant le mari, enfin la transmission héréditaire des biens aux enfants.

Mais ici nos contrats s'écartent complètement des *écrits de prise pour femme.* Les enfants ne sont pas seulement mentionnés en prévision de l'avenir, ils existent déjà, et c'est ce qui nous explique tout le mystère.

Si le mari ne promet pas de prendre sa fiancée pour épouse et de *l'établir comme femme,* c'est que l'union était déjà commencée avant le contrat, c'est que les enfants déjà nés en faisaient le lien le plus solide, c'est qu'en un mot il s'agissait de légitimer une situation anormale.

De là la formule qui transforme l'obligation future en *une dette déjà contractée* et une dette, au sens propre du mot, que l'on fait reposer sur de l'argent:—[1]

"Tu m'as donné, et mon cœur en est satisfait, 21 argenteus fondus du temple de Ptah, ou 20 argenteus plus $\frac{5}{6}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{30}$ $\frac{1}{60}$ $\frac{1}{60}$ — 21 argenteus fondus du temple de Ptah en tout pour ton *sanch* (ta créance).

"L'archentaphiaste Petèsé, fils d'Hércius, mon fils aîné, ton fils aîné, et l'homme du même rang Petèsé (le jeune), fils

[1] Voir dans le No. ii-iii de la 2e année de la *Revue égyptologique,* l'article intitulé "Un quasi mariage," et surtout les leçons que j'ai consacrées à l'étude du mariage dans mon *cours de droit égyptien.* (Leroux, éditeur.)

d'Héreius, mon fils, ton fils, les deux, mes enfants, tes enfants, que tu m'as engendrés, et les enfants nouveaux que tu m'engendreras, seront les maîtres de tous mes biens présents et à venir.

"Que je te donne 36 mesures d'olyre, dont les deux tiers font 24, 36 mesures d'olyre en tout, plus 2 argenteus fondus et 4 dixièmes du temple de Ptah. . . . . pour ta pension alimentaire, au lieu que tu voudras. C'est à toi qu'il appartient d'exiger le paiement de ta pension qui sera à ma charge. Que je te donne cela!

"La totalité de mes biens présents et à venir est en garantie de ton *sanch* ci-dessus. Je ne puis te dire: reçois ton *sanch* ci-dessus (et va-t-en). Au temps ou tu le voudras je te le donnerai. Je ne puis faire de serment à l'encontre de toi en dehors du lieu où l'on en juge."

Nous avons aussi montré que ce genre de contrats memphites, qui n'est pas rare en démotique, était aussi la cause du procès jugé dans le papyrus grec XIII de Turin[1] (de même que la requête grecque d'Amadocus reposait sur un contrat de mariage thébain). Or voici que justement le papyrus Anastasi 1057 nous fait voir le même genre de transactions en l'an 5 du roi Darius.

Là aussi le contrat de mariage est remplacé par un contrat de prêt, et les conventions proprement matrimoniales viennent se greffer sur cette créance. Là aussi l'enfant existe déjà, et c'est lui qu'on a surtout en vue de légitimer. Seulement, au lieu de réunir en un seul acte la reconnaissance de sa femme et la légitimation de son enfant, notre égyptien contemporain de Darius a préféré faire à la même date deux actes différents sur une seule feuille de papyrus.

Dans le 1er de ces actes l'on lit: "L'an 5, Athyr, du roi Darius. Le choachyte Psenèsé, fils de Hérir, dont la mère est Bast . . . . dit à la femme Tsenhor, fille de Nesmin, dont la mère est Reru: "Tu m'as donné trois argenteus fondus du temple du Ptah, quand je t'ai établie comme femme. Que je te méprise je te donnerai . . . . en dehors des trois argenteus fondus du temple de Ptah que tu m'as donnés ci-dessus. Le

[1] Voir dans le N° déjà cité de la *Revue égyptologique*, mes études sur *un quasi mariage* et sur le papyrus grec XIII de Turin.

tiers de tous mes biens présents et à venir que je te le donne." Le second acte est ainsi conçu : "L'an 5, Athyr, du roi Darius. Le choachyte Petêsé, fils de Hérir, dont la mère est Bast . . . . dit à la femme Reru, fille du choachyte Petêsé, fils de Hérir, laquelle a pour mère Tsenhor, *sa fille*" (à lui Petèsé) : "Tu viendras en partage avec mes enfants que j'ai engendrés ou que j'engendrerai pour tous mes biens présents et à venir : maisons, terrains, esclaves, argent, airain, étoffes, bœufs, ânes, bestiaux, contrats quelconques, totalité de biens au monde. A toi part d'eux (de ces biens), comme à mes enfants qui seront à jamais, ainsi que de mes catacombes de choachyte dans la nécropole et dans le nome. A toi aussi part d'elles."[1]

Ces deux instruments ont été bien et dûment rédigés par le prêtre de Mont *neb uas*, qui tenait l'étude de Thèbes[2] à cette époque, et certifiés au revers par 8 témoins, dont les noms, pour correspondre à ces instruments, se trouvaient deux fois sur les deux côtés du verso de notre papyrus.

En même temps que ces deux actes étaient consentis par Psenèsé, sa nouvelle épouse, Tsenhor, en faisait écrire deux autres, que Caillaud a publiés dans ses planches xxvii et xxviii, et dont les originaux sont maintenant à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Ces deux contrats constituaient un partage d'hérédité entre les deux enfants que Tsenhor avait actuellement. L'un de ces enfants était la fille que Psenèsé venait de reconnaître, l'autre était un fils né d'une précédente union. L'expédition adressée au fils portait :—

"L'an 5, Athyr, du roi Darius.

"La choachyte femme Tsenhor, fille de choachyte de la nécropole Nesmin, dont la mère est Reru, dit au choachyte de la nécropole Petamenhotep, fils de Hahoreroou, dont la mère est Tsenhor : mon fils aîné, à toi la moitié de latotalité des biens qui à moi dans la campagne, dans le sanctuaire, et dans la ville, maisons, champs, esclaves, argent, airain, étoffes, bœufs, ânes, tombes de la nécropole, totalité de biens au monde. A toi la moitié de la totalité de biens au monde

[1] Voir aux planches les photographies de ces deux contrats du British Museum.

[2] Voir sur les notaires de Thèbes, mon article intitulé *l'authenticité des actes* dans la *Revue égyptologique*, 2e année, p. 103 et suiv.

appartenant au choachyte de la nécropole Nesmin, fils d'Atef-en-Osor, mon père, et de la totalité de biens au monde appartenant à la femme Reru, fille du choachyte de la nécropole Petémin, dont la mère est Résì (?) ma mère. A toi la moitié de la part qui me revient en leur nom. A toi ce dont je justifierai en mon nom, au nom de mes père et mère. La femme Reru, fille du choachyte de la nécropole Psenèsé, dont la mère est Tsenhor, ta sœur cadette, a l'autre moitié de ma part qui me revient, soit en mon nom, soit au nom de mes père et mère ci-dessus encore. Le fils que j'engendrerai depuis ce jour qu'il reçoive sa part sans prendre sur la part des deux."

Le contrat destiné à la fille était tout-à-fait parallèle. Il est ainsi conçu :—

" L'an 5, Athyr, du roi Darius. La choachyte femme Tsenhor, fille du choachyte de la nécropole Nesmin, dont la mère est Reru, dit à la femme choachyte Reru, fille du choachyte de la nécropole Psenèsé, dont la mère est Tsenhor, sa fille :—A toi la moitié de la totalité des biens qui sont à moi dans la campagne, dans le sanctuaire, et dans la ville : maisons, champs, esclaves, argent, airain, bœufs, ânes, bestiaux, catacombes de la nécropole, totalité de biens au monde, et la moitié de ma part qui me revient au nom du choachyte de la nécropole Nesmin, fils d'Atef-en-Osor, mon père, et de la part de Reru, fille du choachyte de la nécropole Petémin, dont la mère est Résì (?), ma mère. A toi la moitié de ma part qui me revient au nom de mes père et mère ci-dessus, et au nom de leurs père et mère encore, part dont le choachyte de la nécropole Petamenhotep, fils de Hahoeroou, dont la mère est Tsenhor, ton frère aîné, a l'autre moitié. Le fils que j'engendrerai qu'il reçoive sa part sans prendre sur la part des deux."

L'enfant dont Tsenhor prévoyait la naissance et qu'elle sentait peut-être déjà sans son sein naquit en effet ; car il en est question dans le partage que Psenèsé fit plus tard de ses biens en mariant sa fille. Qu'on nous permette de traduire ici cet acte, qui porte le No. 2 parmi les papyrus démotiques de Turin :—

" L'an 24, Pharmouthi, du roi Darius.

" Le choachyte de la nécropole Psenèsé, fils de Hérir, dont la mère est Bast . . . . dit à la femme Reru, fille du choachyte

de la nécropole, Psenèsé, fils de Hérir, mère Tsenhor, sa fille : A toi la moitié de tous biens que je posséde et que j'acquerrai dans la campagne, le sanctuaire et la ville : maisons, champs, esclaves, argent, airain, bœufs, ânes, bestiaux, catacombes de la nécropole, totalité de biens au monde, biens dont le choachyte de la nécropole Ha, fils de Psenèsé, fils de Hérir, mère Tsenhor, mon fils, ton frère, a l'autre moitié. Celui qui viendra à toi en mon nom, au nom de quiconque au monde, je le ferai s'éloigner de toi. A toi les actes (concernant ces héritage) en tout lieu où ils sont. A toi ce dont je justifierai en leur nom."[1]

Ainsi, si Psenèsé avait eu d'autres enfants que ceux qu'il avait engendrés avec Tsenhor (comme l'un des actes cités plus haut semble l'indiquer), ces enfants n'existaient plus et il ne restait en présence que sa fille née avant le contrat et le fils qui s'apprêtait à venir au moment même de ce contrat.

En somme, le mariage à l'essai ou plutôt *après essai* contracté par Psenèsé réussit assez bien ; car, nous l'avons dit, les enfants en formaient le lien principal, lien d'autant plus sérieux qu'en Egypte, selon Diodore, il n'existait pas de bâtards, que toute preuve authentique établissant la filiation suffisait, que sans doute la recherche de la paternité était permise, et que de plus les enfants avaient droit réel sur la succession de leurs père et mère.

Il est à noter que nos documents sont thèbains, et que par conséquent le genre de transactions dont nous venons de parler n'est pas exclusivement memphitique. Il y avait tout lieu de le supposer puisqu'il ne s'agissait pas d'une coutume

[1] Psenèsé avait, à cette époque, aggravé déjà les clauses faites en faveur de sa femme dans son contrat de mariage. Cinq ans après celui-ci, en l'an 10 de Darius, Psenèsé donnait à Tsenhor la moitié d'une maison sise à Thebes. Voir l'ancien No. 5, ou le No. 231 actuel de Turin.) Cette maison était voisine d'une autre maison achetée par Psenèsé en l'an 12, suivant les indications contenues dans un autre contrat que j'ai récemment acquis pour le Louvre. D'une autre part, Tsenhor faisait, en son propre nom, et sans autorisation d'aucune sorte diverses acquisitions parmi lesquelles je signalerai celle d'un jeune esclave. Cet esclave lui fut vendu en l'an 6 du roi Darius, par un certain Hor, fils de Nesmin, qui l'avait acheté lui-même en l'an 5, d'un nommé Ahmès. (Voir, Caillaud, pl. xxvi, et un contrat de Turin que je publierai bientôt.) Je n'en aurais jamais fini si je voulais donner ici toutes les pièces relatives à ce ménage et à cette famille. Ce sera le sujet d'une série d'articles dans la *Revue égyptologique*. Disons seulement que plusieurs contrats de cette série sont des plus intéressants

locale pour tous les mariages, mais d'un mariage célébré dans certaines conditions spéciales—plus fréquentes, il est vrai, à Memphis qu'à Thèbes. D'une autre part, ainsi que nous en avons déjà fait la remarque, on trouve aussi à Memphis des contrats de mariage du genre thèbain. J'en ai déjà publié un d'après un papyrus de Leide. J'en viens de trouver un second dans un papyrus du British Museum (Anastasi 41), malheureusement en très mauvais état. Mais on y remarque les mêmes modifications au contrat thèbain que dans le papyrus de Leide, c'est-à-dire: 1° le changement du don nuptial *šep* fait par le mari à la femme en apport fictif fait par la femme au mari; 2° La licence expresse accordée à la femme de s'en aller *d'elle-même* quand elle voudrait en reprenant sa dot. Il y a d'ailleurs certaines modifications importantes particulières à ce contrat. Ainsi la pension alimentaire annuelle paraît seulement conditionnelle. La préoccupation des enfants qui ne sont pas encore nés est aussi moins grande que dans les contrats thèbains de bonne époque. On ne trouve pas la clause: mon fils aîné, ton fils aîné, est le maître de tous mes biens présents et à venir. Si la femme peut s'en aller quand elle voudra, *d'elle-même,* en revanche, elle ne peut pas exiger d'amende dans le cas où son mari la mépriserait. On spécifie encore pour l'avenir *l'établissement solennel comme femme.* Mais c'est tout. Nous avons bien affaire à un système mixte entre le vrai mariage et le mariage à base pécuniaire de seconde catégorie dont nous parlions tout-à-l'heure, avec cette différence pourtant qu'il n'y avait pas de situation préexistante à régulariser. Il faut remarquer aussi que ce contrat est seulement du règne d'Aulète, et qu'à cette époque, comme nous l'avons dit ailleurs, les liens matrimoniaux tendaient à se relâcher. A Thèbes même, à l'époque récente, les contrats de mariage subissent de profondes modifications. C'était, du reste, en Egypte, la volonté de parties qui fixait, comme elle l'entendait, les régimes matrimoniaux.

THE POOR LAWS OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS.

By Dr. Sigmund Louis.

Read 3rd April, 1883.

Among the many and varied laws handed down to us in the Mosaic legislation, the laws relating to the poor exhibit some very distinctive features, when compared with the scanty provisions for the same class found among other nations of antiquity. We may confidently assert that these Mosaic enactments form the basis from which has sprung the gigantic structure of charity organization which adorns our own age.

According to the Midrash,[1] the Scripture idiom contains eight words conveying the idea of poverty; these are, alphabetically arranged:—

אביון דל דך חלכה מך מסכן עני רש

As is always the case with synonyms, all these words differ in shades of meaning, but I will not enter into a philological discussion of their respective significations; indeed, the only two words which concern our subject are אביון and עני, as they alone are employed in the scriptural passages containing the poor laws. Etymologically, אביון, derived from אבה (Latin *avēre*), "to desire," means *desirous* or *needy*, whilst עני, from ענה, "to oppress," means the *oppressed*, the *lowly*, the *poor*. It would be difficult to mark a distinction between the two expressions in the several passages in which they occur, but so much may be said, that אביון designates a lower grade of poverty than עני; the אביון is necessarily עני, but the עני need not always be אביון.

In Rabbinical writings, the poor, as a class, are always called עניים; it is possible that these writers avoided the term אביונים, as it might have been misconstrued to allude

[1] Vayikra Rabba, 34.

to the Ebionites, a religious sect which existed in the early ages of the Christian era, and whose tenets were a sort of compromise between Christianity and Judaism.

It has been asserted that in Biblical times there were no beggars properly so called. This assertion is based on the circumstance that the Hebrew idiom has no special word for beggar or mendicant. I think the argument weak; I do not believe that the absence of the word beggar from the Old Testament offers any guarantee that beggars did not exist in those times; at all events, in the time of Christ we read of a man sitting at the gate of the temple, "asking alms of them that entered;"[1] the Talmud speaks of beggars going from door to door;[2] and the Mishna mentions even itinerant beggars, who tramp from town to town,[3] so that beggary must have been known in the first centuries of the current era.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the laws themselves, it will be as well to make clear what was understood by the term "poor" from a *legal* point of view, that is to say, to what state of poverty must a man have fallen to be entitled to participate in the provisions made for paupers. The Mishna supplies a very precise definition of the term; it says:[4] "He who possesses 200 זוז (equal to a little over £6 of English money), must not share in the gleanings and other portions set aside for the poor," the amount of 200 זוז being held sufficient for one year's maintenance and clothing.

Incidentally this passage throws some light upon the state of trade in those times; it goes on to say:[5] "He who possesses 50 זוז (a little over 30*s*.), which he uses for trading purposes, must not participate in these grants to the poor." It follows that 50 זוז employed as a trading capital was considered equal to an annual income of 200 זוז.

The trade here referred to was probably the retail trade in provisions, such as cereals, fruit, oil, wine, &c. Now the

[1] Acts iii, 2.

[2] מחזיר על הפתחים, Baba bathra, 9*a*.

[3] עני העובר ממקום למקום, Peah, viii, 7.

[4] Peah, viii, 8. [5] Peah, viii, 9.

extreme limit of profit legally permitted in this trade, according to the Talmud,[1] was 20 per cent., so that a man, in order to gain four times the amount of his capital in a twelvemonth, must be supposed to turn it over twenty times in the year, or very nearly once in a fortnight; this gives the idea of a fairly active state of trade, though by no means unreasonably so in the particular branch to which it refers.

I ought to explain that the Talmudical phrase is: "the profit must not exceed the *sixth* part," but this is understood to mean the sixth part of the selling price,[2] that is, 1 in 5 of the cost price, or 20 per cent.

It may be interesting to mention that among the articles exempted from this rule of restricted profits were *eggs*;[3] the reasons assigned for this exemption are, first, because eggs are not strictly necessaries of life, and then because the seller has the trouble of going about from place to place to collect them; probably the perishable nature of the article was likewise taken into consideration.

After these preliminary observations, I will turn to the poor laws referring to the produce of the land. According to Leviticus xix, 9 and 10, not a field was to be harvested, nor the fruit of a tree to be gathered, without leaving a portion of it for the poor; these portions were called פאות, "corners." The Mosaic text does not fix the quantity to be left, but the Mishna[4] gives the *minimum* at the sixtieth part. This law applied to all kinds of cereals and of pulse, to the produce of the vineyard, the olive plantation, and nearly all other fruit trees; some of the latter were, however, exempted; such, for instance, was the fig tree, because the fruit of the same tree does not arrive at maturity all at the same time, so that it would have been difficult to determine at what season of the year a portion was to be left. The poor were not allowed to take these portions until the owner of the field or the tree had declared that he had set them aside for them;

[1] Baba bathra, 90*a*, המשתכר אל ישתכר יותר משתות.

[2] Menachoth, 77*a*, שתותא מלבר.

[3] Baba bathra, 91*a*.

[4] Peah, i, 2.

but the law prescribed[1] that the proprietor should make his appearance in his field three times each day—in the morning, at midday, and in the afternoon, so as to give the poor opportunities of hearing his declaration.

Besides these so-called "corners," there were the gleanings. Single ears dropping from the hands of the reapers, small bunches of grapes, olives, almonds, dates, &c., accidentally falling to the ground during the gathering, were not to be picked up, but were to be left for the poor to take away. Even if a whole sheaf had been forgotten in the field, or some of the fruit had been left on the tree, the owner was not to return for them,[2] but had to leave them for the benefit of the poor.

With reference to the distribution of these yearly harvest perquisites (if we may so call them), the proprietor was not permitted to favour one poor person more than another, and non-Israelites were admitted to participation equally with the poor Israelites."[3]

A more important provision for the poor, at least quantitatively more important, was the tithe for the poor (מעשר עני). This was levied every third year in the following manner:—After the produce of the land had been housed, 2 parts in each 100 were set aside for the priest, then 10 of each 100, that is the tithe, had to be given to the Levites; the tenth part of what remained, that is, nearly 9 per cent of the original quantity, was then set aside. In the first and second, as well as in the fourth and fifth year in each cycle of seven years, this second tithe was not given away, but it had to be consumed by the owners within the gates of Jerusalem. In the third and sixth year, however, the second tithe was distributed among the needy, and was called the tithe for the poor. In the distribution of this tithe, some liberty of action was conceded to the owner; he was allowed to favour a poor relative or a poor acquaintance, at least as far as half the quantity was concerned which he had to distribute.

Thus, the corners, &c. amounting to about 2 per cent, and the second tithe, to about 9 per cent every three years, or an

[1] Peah, iv, 5. [2] Deuter. xxiv, 19.
[3] Maimon., "Gifts for the Poor," i, 9.

average of 3 per cent in each year, we find that 5 per cent of the produce of the field and the tree was devoted to the relief of the poor. We may ask ourselves how far these arrangements were effectual in supporting the poor. In the absence of statistics it is extremely difficult to form an accurate opinion; but we may arrive at some estimate by referring to an instance of modern statistics. Taking into account that Palestine was an essentially agricultural country, I think we shall not overstate the case in basing our calculations on the statistics of such a county as Buckinghamshire. In that county the proportion of paupers to the population in 1882 was about 3¾ per cent. Assuming that the proportion in Palestine was somewhat similar—which I think is a high estimate—we may conclude that if 5 per cent of the whole produce was distributed among 3¾ per cent of the population, the poor were by these arrangements alone safeguarded against starvation.

These measures provided for six years out of every cycle of seven; the seventh, being the year of release, or the Sabbatical year, was subject to different arrangements. According to Exodus xxiii, 10 and 11, there was to be no sowing nor reaping in the 7th year, and the spontaneous produce of the soil during that year was free to every one, rich and poor alike. The Rabbins endeavoured to carry out the spirit rather than the letter of the Mosaic text; and as it is evident that if field-labour had been continued to the very end of the sixth year, the growth of the seventh year would not have been quite spontaneous, they fixed the time when certain agricultural operations had to cease in the sixth year, and also when they might be resumed in the seventh, without influencing that year's produce. Nearly a whole treatise of the Mishna is taken up with the discussion of these regulations. It is impossible to estimate how the poor fared during the Sabbatical year, as the spontaneous produce of the earth must be subject to many accidental circumstances; but if we take into consideration that the rich not only refrained from gathering any of the fruits of the field so long as they could draw sustenance from their own stores, but were also obliged to distribute some of their reserve provisions among the

poor when nothing more could be found in the fields, we may infer that the pauper classes were not in danger of being left without food.

Another boon conferred upon the poor by the advent of the Sabbatical year was the cancelling of debts. A careful perusal of the Mosaic ordinances concerning loans unquestionably leads to the conclusion that the Lawgiver intended entirely to discountenance debts. The prohibition to take interest for loans, the restrictions which were put upon the mode of taking pledges as security, and the circumstance of all debts being cancelled in the Sabbatical year, rendered it impossible to make money-lending a profitable business. In fact, to lend money to those who were in need was enjoined as an act of benevolence. In this sense, the Psalmist says, "A good man shows favour and lendeth";[1] and the Rabbins declare, "Greater is he who lends than he who gives alms."[2] The following rule is laid down with respect to granting loans:—"Give the preference to Israelites over non-Israelites, to a poor man over a rich man, to thy own relations over other townsmen, and to townsmen over strangers."[3]

The law of cancelling debts in the seventh year was intended to protect the poor from sinking into debt; another ordinance of the same tendency is contained in Deuter. xxiv, 25, where it is enjoined to pay the day labourer his hire each day, no doubt to enable him to obtain the necessaries of life for ready money. On the other hand, in order that credit might not be refused for these necessaries when required, the law exempted debts contracted with the petty traders from the effects of the Sabbatical year; the Mishna declares that shop debts are not to be cancelled by the advent of the year of release.[4]

It was, however, found in the process of time that this law of cancelling debts paralysed commercial transactions, as persons hesitated to grant loans near the year of release; Hillel therefore introduced a remedy, which consisted in the creditor executing a document called פרוזבול[5] (a word of

[1] Ps. cxii, 5. [2] Sabbath, 63*a*. [3] Baba metzia, 71*a*.
[4] Shebiith, x, 1, הקפת החנות אינה משמטת.
[5] Gittin, 36*a*.

Greek derivation, meaning "a provision"). By this document the creditor transferred his claim to a tribunal, so that by a legal fiction the court was technically considered the creditor, and consequently the debt was not liable to be cancelled. Though debts were cancelled in the Sabbatical year, it was considered honourable for a debtor to pay his debt even after the Sabbatical year had passed; in that case, the creditor had to remind him that the debt was cancelled; but if the debtor insisted, he was to accept payment.[1]

Besides cancelling debts, the Sabbatical year had also the effect of rendering their liberty to those who had sold themselves, or had been sold, into slavery from poverty.

The law of the Jubilee, though in restoring the land to the previous owners it affected the poor beneficially, cannot properly be regarded as a provision enacted for the advantage of the poor; its real object was to prevent the accumulation of landed property in the same hands; whilst the period of fifty years intervening between one Jubilee and another was too long for the poor to derive any substantial benefit from this institution.

If we compare these legal measures with the enactments in favour of the poor passed among the Romans and Greeks, notably with the Licinian rogations, which we may consider as the prototype of all subsequent agrarian laws, and with the law of Solon, known by the name of σεισάχθεια[2] (literally, the shaking off of a burden), which was properly a financial measure reducing the standard of the coinage, and thus relieving poor debtors of a portion of their liabilities, we shall find that these laws of the Romans and Greeks were purely *remedial*, whilst the Mosaic laws were radically *preventive*. The Romans and Greeks passed those laws under pressure, when the condition of the poor threatened to become a danger to the State; but there never was any such pressure among the Hebrews. The incident recorded in the fifth chapter of Nehemiah, when the people complained that their lands, their vineyards, and their houses were mortgaged, and their sons and daughters sold into bondage, did not amount to a rising of the poor, and the abuses

[1] Shebiith, x, 8. [2] Plutarch's "Life of Solon."

complained of were rectified by the people themselves voluntarily making restitution when the case had been emphatically placed before them by Nehemiah.

As a general rule, remedial measures are more effective, but their effect is only temporary, and they are apt to relieve one class at the expense of another. Preventive measures have this defect, that they do not always adapt themselves to the changes which take place in the social conditions of nations. With reference to these laws for the poor, we are bound to confess that they did *not* effect the purpose for which they were designed, they did not altogether *prevent* pauperism. Indeed, it was anticipated that these provisions would not entirely extinguish poverty, for it is declared: "The poor will never cease out of the land."[1] How difficult it is for a man who has once fallen into poverty, to raise himself from his lowly position, is pithily expressed by the Rabbins in the proverbial saying: "Poverty stalketh behind the poor";[2] meaning, that wherever the poor man wends his steps, poverty is sure to follow him.

The truth once acknowledged, that there always would be needy persons, there was then a field open for charity properly so called, or almsgiving.

The word which has obtained currency among the Jews for "charity," or rather "alms," is the Hebrew word צדקה. Throughout the Old Testament this word signifies "justice" or "righteousness," its Greek equivalent being δικαιοσύνη; but in several instances—eight in all—the version of the Septuagint has rendered the word by ελεημοσύνη, "mercy" or "benevolence," thus showing that among the Hellenistic or Alexandrian Jews the popular acceptation of צדקה had already gained ground.

In Rabbinical writings the term צדקה is only used in the signification of "benevolence" or "charitable gifts." The transition from the meaning of "righteousness" to that of "benevolence," and from the abstract noun to the concrete signification of "alms," is curious, and it deserves to be noted that our own word "alms" is a descendant of ελεημοσύνη,

[1] Deuter., xv, 11.

[2] Baba Kamma, 92*a*, בתר עניא אזלא עניותא.

the first signification of which is the abstract idea of "pity" or "mercy."

In the Mosaic law almsgiving was not left to the spontaneous promptings of the individual, but was enjoined as a religious duty; and in very early times regular organisations existed for the relief of the poor. In every Jewish community unpaid officers were appointed called גבאי צדקה (collectors of charity), who were charged with the collection and distribution of charitable gifts. The communities were very scrupulous in selecting well-known and trusty men for this office, and those who had been elected were held in great esteem by their fellow citizens. The following practice may show in what light their position was regarded. It was always considered of the highest importance that the priestly tribe should be preserved in its purity. When a priest wished to intermarry with a family of another tribe, it was necessary to institute inquiries into the pedigree of the family for four generations, to make sure that no blemish attached to anyone connected with it; but when the chosen bride was the daughter of one of these "collectors of charity," no such inquiry was necessary; the fact of the father having held that office was regarded as sufficient guarantee that the reputation of the family was unimpeachable.[1]

The collectors of charity went round every day to collect all kinds of eatables from those who were willing to contribute; this collection was called תמחוי,[2] a word signifying a "dish"—a vessel to contain food; it was distributed every evening to all comers, and the overseers mostly endeavoured to provide each recipient with food sufficient for two meals. From this source relief was given to the most destitute; "a man who receives his maintenance from the public dish," is a phrase often used in Talmudical parlance to indicate the lowest grade of pauperism.

In addition, the collectors went every Friday to collect [illegible]ntributions in money; this was called קופה (literally a [illegible]"). The distribution was made once a week, and it [illegible] intended for the poor of the town in which [illegible] collected; it was, however, left to the

[illegible] [2] Baba bathra, 8b.

discretion of the community to modify these arrangements. It was laid down as a rule that non-Israelites were to be relieved as well as Israelites.[1]

These money contributions were not altogether voluntary; in many communities the householders were assessed according to their means—it was, in fact, an actual poor rate; and where this had been done the authorities had power to enforce payment, and in case of refusal even to distrain on the chattels of the defaulter.[2]

These contributions represented what we may call public charity; besides these there was naturally a large amount of private almsgiving; even the poor man was expected to give something, however small his gift might be. With reference to the amount which a person should devote to charitable purposes, no precise limit was fixed, but the tenth part of a man's income was considered a proper proportion. The Rabbins ordain that a man should not expend more than the *fifth* part of his income in charitable donations.[3] The New Testament goes beyond this limitation, for it is stated: "the half of my goods I give unto the poor;"[4] and again: "if thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor."[5]

One of the most essential conditions of almsgiving was, that it should not be done in public. The same principle is most emphatically expressed in the beginning of the sixth chapter of Matthew, in the passage commencing: "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men," &c.; but the leading ideas seem to be somewhat different. The passage just quoted appears to be directed chiefly against ostentation, denouncing the conduct of those whose object in doing good "is the praise and glory coming from man," and insisting upon the purity of motives. In the Rabbinical precept, the leading idea is a tender regard for the feelings of the recipient; this is often expressed in very emphatic language. When R. Janai saw a man giving alms to a poor person in public, he said to him: "You would do better not

[1] Gittin, 61*a*. [2] Baba bathra, 8*b*.

[3] Ketuboth, 50*a*, המבזבז אל יבזבז יותר מחומש.

[4] Luke xix, 8. [5] Matthew xix, 21.

to give at all, than to give and put the man to shame."[1] In the Ethics it is stated: "He who calls forth a blush on the face of his fellow-man, in the presence of others, forfeits his claim to beatitude."[2] Another passage in the Talmud says: "It were better for a man to throw himself into a blazing furnace than to put his neighbour to shame in public."[3]

It deserves to be mentioned that the expression invariably used in Rabbinical writings for putting a person to shame is "to cause the face to turn white." The word most frequently used is מלבין, "to cause to become white"; but we also find in the same sense כָּסַף, derived from כסף, "silver," and meaning, "to grow pale as silver"; another word used in the same signification is חוור, "to be white." The peculiarity of this expression is explained by a celebrated commentator of the fifteenth century, Obadja di Bertinoro, who states that when a man feels ashamed, his face first becomes red, but afterwards turns white. I do not know that this mediæval commentator had any psychological grounds for his assertion; but it is interesting to find his opinion confirmed by Darwin, who in his work "On the Expression of Emotions," says: "According to Dr. Burgess, the reddening of the skin is generally succeeded by a slight pallor . . . . . In some rare cases, paleness instead of redness is caused under conditions which would naturally cause a blush."

The most delicate consideration was exhibited in the case of those who had once been in affluent circumstances, but had become reduced. In the temple at Jerusalem there was a room set apart called לשכת השאים,[4] "the chamber of the silent," where pious persons deposited money for charitable purposes in secrecy, and where persons of good families who had become reduced in circumstances secretly received support. Every kind of pretext was resorted to with the object of inducing such persons to accept the proffered gift. It is related that R. Jochanan, meeting a man who was descended from a wealthy family, and had lost his property, went up to him and said: "I have heard that a legacy has

[1] Sigah, 5a.
[2] III, 11.
[3] Ketoboth, 43b.
[4] Shekalim, v, 6.

been bequeathed to you in some distant town, take this sum, and repay me when you can." When the man had accepted the money, R. Jochanan told him that he had intended it as a gift.[1]

Such is a brief outline of the benevolent laws and usages which regulated the treatment of the poor among the ancient Hebrews. It would be difficult to prove that these institutions were simultaneously in force at any one period. But we may safely assume that the laws relating to agricultural produce were observed while the Jews inhabited Palestine, and the cancelling of debts must have been practised in the time of Hillel, who lived in the reign of the Emperor Augustus. The other usages to which I have referred are found in the Tulmud, in passages acknowledged to date from the second century of the current era; we are therefore fully justified in concluding that the *latest* of these charitable practices were introduced not later than the second century of the Christian era, while many of them undoubtedly belong to a period of much greater antiquity.

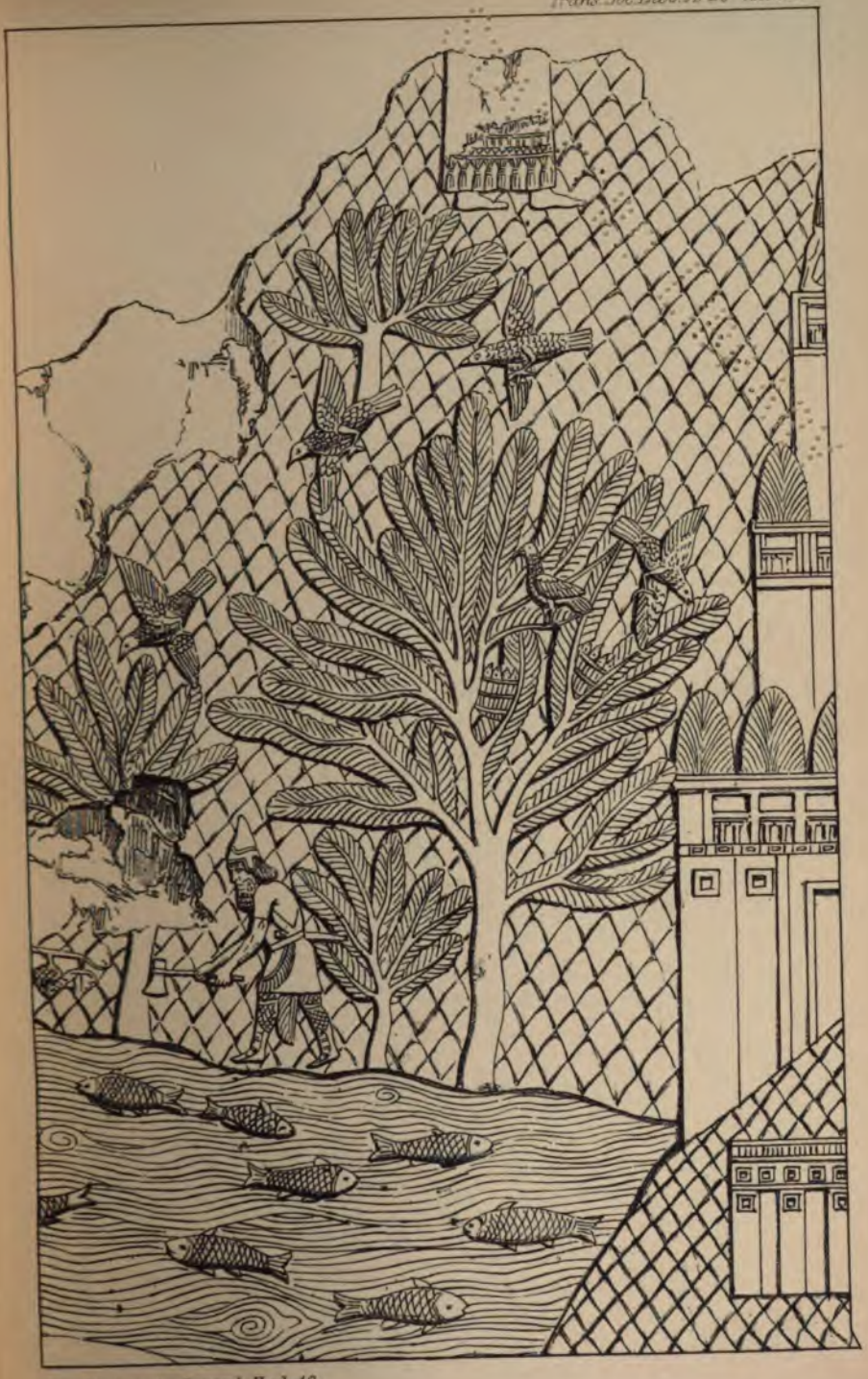
[1] Shekalim, v, 15.

THE BIRDS OF THE ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS AND RECORDS.

By the Rev. William Houghton, M.A., F.L.S.

Read 7th February, 1882.

Before I introduce some of the various names of birds mentioned in the records, or the actual figures represented on the monuments, to your notice this evening, it will be desirable to make a few remarks on the subject generally. And first I wish to say a few words on the nature and value of the evidence afforded. We have to depend on the information supplied by actual figures on the monuments, such as on the slabs, cylinders, bronze dishes or other objects, and by the description of the birds given in the records. Unfortunately, the figures occur very sparingly, and when they do occur they are almost always very rudely drawn. The Assyrians either were not able or did not care to attempt anything like artistic effect, or even rude accuracy, in their delineations of bird-life; these stand out in striking contrast to their often successful efforts to pourtray the forms of horses, cattle, sheep, goats, lions, dogs, hares, and other mammalia to which I have referred in my former paper on this subject. In the case of such birds as present at a glance some striking characteristic in real life, the absence of any correct pictorial form is, so far as relates to identification, of slight consequence. The figures, for instance, of the ostrich, ludicrous and grotesque as they are, at once speak for themselves. The ostrich is a peculiar looking bird, and therefore the drawings cannot be mistaken for anything else. The figures of the head and neck of the swan clearly point to that bird and to no other; but, on the other hand, where there is *nothing strikingly peculiar* in the form of a bird, it is often impossible to say to what species, or even to what family, the representation refers. The figures of the large rapacious birds which occur as accompaniments of a battle-field scene, do not clearly tell us whether they are meant for eagles or for



from Konjunjik. Layard II. pl. 40.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate I.

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vultures, though they bear a more general resemblance to the former. The representations of certain smaller kinds of birds are still more puzzling; and were it not for slight clues afforded by other evidence, such as the presence of trees, or of nests and young birds on the trees, together with the parent-forms, or to that of fortresses or other buildings in close proximity to the birds, all attempts at identification would be absolutely fruitless. I may mention especially the figures of certain birds represented as being shot by bow and arrow, and carried in the hand, as climbing trees, after the fashion of woodpeckers and tree-creepers, and in other attitudes. At one time I thought that some of these birds were meant for some of the *Perdicidæ*, or partridge family, such as the francolins, now common in Turkey and the adjacent lands, and doubtless well known to the ancient Assyrians; but the presence of these birds with their nests and young ones in the nests on *trees*, at once excluded francolins, which always build on the *ground*. Then I thought of pigeons, but the deep nest at once put a stop to that idea, for all the *Columbidæ*, I believe, make shallow nests; and then I thought of rooks, and as the figures of the birds in question may possibly be meant for rooks, and as the surroundings, such as congregating and building deepish nests on trees near inhabited places, are on the whole more or less satisfactory, I think that the evidence is more in favour of the rook than of any other bird; but still the figures may be intended for some bird quite different. The specimen shown as climbing a tree may well denote a woodpecker, the habits of which bird having been much noticed by the Assyrians. Pigeons are evidently here and there intended; the raven appears, and I think francolins are also intended to be represented.

As to the nature and value of the evidence afforded by the *names* of birds occurring in the records, we have to depend almost entirely (1) on the cursory notices of the feathered tribe in the Historical Inscriptions, or (2) to their simple names as they are given on the Bilingual and Trilingual Tablets. Now the value of the evidence afforded by the Historical Records is very small indeed if taken by itself; the notices are too general and vague, and the

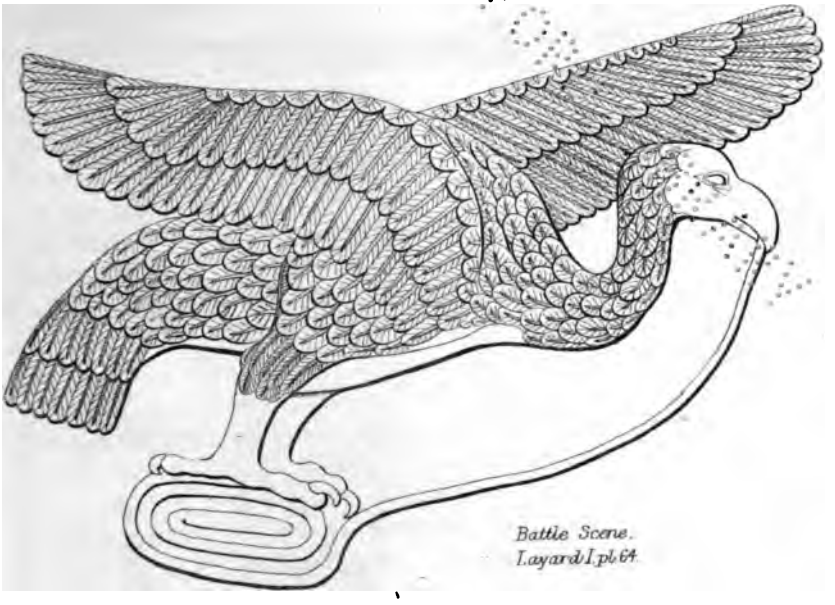
information very scanty. "Like a bird he fled," a phrase of frequent occurrence, can convey no definite meaning beyond that of swiftness; "like a *cu-mu* or *tus-mu* bird he placed the ensigns of his royalty"; "like a *Śu-din-nu* bird he fled," "like to *Śu-su-di* birds their hearts were terrified"—all these are sentences which leave us almost in the dark as to what kind of birds these names respectively denote; all that the two last instances convey to us is that some *timid* species is intended; but in *connection with other evidence* such as that supplied by the Bilingual Lists, these and similar phrases may afford some information, more or less important, as to the bird intended.

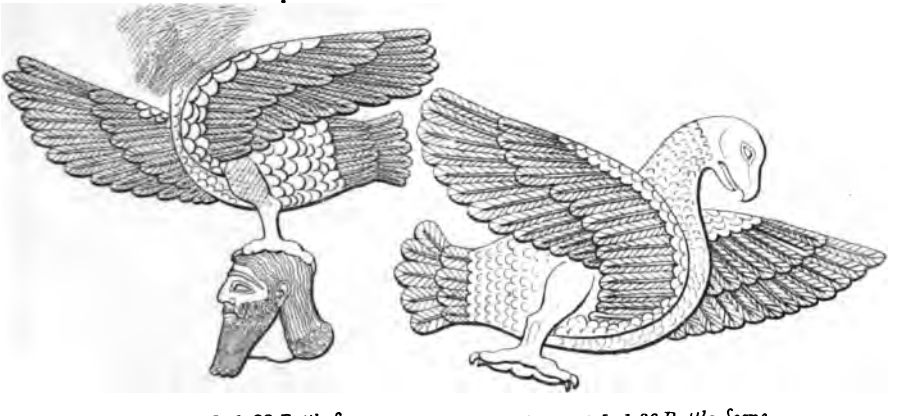
The *nature* of the evidence afforded by the Bilingual and Trilingual Lists is chiefly, if not solely, philological; in the former we meet with columns of bird-names given sometimes in two of Assyrian, or in one of Assyrian and one of Accadian columns; in the Trilingual we meet with two Assyrian columns and their equivalents in one Accadian. The *value* of this kind of philological evidence is variable; we have to depend on the derivation of the name, and to compare that name with names occurring in the cognate languages in the case of Assyrian; in Accadian we have to ascertain the meaning or probable meaning of the syllabic parts which compose the whole bird-name. Where the similarity between an unknown Assyrian word and an ascertained Hebrew or Arabic name exists, there is, of course, very often strong evidence to believe that the bird itself is the same, other points, if such there be, being equal. But we must see, before we identify any bird-name with some particular species, that the philological evidence is in accordance with the general zoological facts, whether as regards the habits, form, or geographical locality of a species or family; or, the philological evidence, if it lacks actual zoological corroboration, should, at least, incorporate with it some notion or other, even if erroneous, prevalent at any time among the people who make use of the name. Fanciful and erroneous notions on natural history subjects, so common formerly, and still existing amongst uneducated persons in our own country, would naturally now and then find expression in a

name. This has to be taken into consideration. But still, as a rule, we must take care that the philological information conveyed by a name should be not contradictory to zoological fact. If, for instance, the meaning of a name points to a long-legged creature, and we identify that creature with a short-legged one, the evidence supplied by philology and natural history facts is contradictory and our identification false. This is an extreme illustration of what I mean; but caution is necessary in all our attempts to discover the meaning of the various names which in ancient times, whether in Asiatic records or in the works of the classical writers of Greece and Rome, were used for some mammal, bird, reptile, fish, insect, or other creature. If we identify any bird or *other* animal-name with some species which is known never to have existed—I speak, of course, within historical, or at least post-palæontological times—in the districts indicated, or which it is extremely improbable ever could have there existed, such identification must be erroneous. If evidence afforded historically by description, or philologically by the simple meaning of a name, point to some *strong* and *fierce* creature, and we refer the name to some animal which is almost harmless, our conclusion is wrong. But philological evidence, when *taken by itself*, may be misleading, and identity of sound between names in allied languages be no proof of the identity of the animal. It is also very important to bear in mind such a thing as the geographical distribution of animals in our attempts at identification as I mentioned just now. Again, birds or other animals may have existed within, comparatively speaking, recent historical times, in certain localities, and be no longer found there now; the absence of a certain creature in a particular area does not of necessity forbid the possibility of its existence there in early days; still there must be more or less *probability* of such an occurrence, a probability based on what we know of the actual conditions necessary for the maintenance and well-being of the life of such and such an animal. We must have regard to what knowledge we possess of the geographical distribution of animals, and thus compare the known present with the probable past.

In the writings of the Greek and Roman authors we meet with descriptions of animals, more or less full of information, sometimes very erroneous, sometimes very correct; now vague and uncertain, now vivid and exact. But in the Assyrian Records we meet with scarcely any help of this kind; descriptive accounts fail us almost entirely, the references to birds are scant in number and poor in information, and consequently we are driven to depend almost entirely on such philological evidence as is conveyed by the meaning of the names on the Bilingual or Trilingual Tablets, on the derivation and meaning of the Assyrian names and their Accadian equivalents.

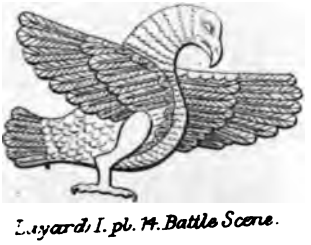
These Accadian names often supply important materials for consideration. The frequent use of the determinative prefixes or suffixes is almost always of some definite value. In the case of the birds whose names occur in the lists the presence of the suffix ⊢𒄭 (*khu*) informs us that the name is that of some bird. Here we start: we know that we have to do with the class *aves*, and no other. Then as to the probable bird denoted by the name. Although much at present remains obscure, most interesting and valuable help sometimes meets us on the analysis of the Accadian name. When the meaning or meanings of the syllabic parts which constitute the whole Accadian compound name are really known, then often the *whole* is known, and one peculiarity in the form or habits of a certain bird is admirably pourtrayed in one well expressed and well selected compound Accadian name; and when the information thus conveyed by the graphic single-word description accords with the form or habits of the bird supposed to be indicated, and when its equivalent Assyrian name answers to that of some ascertained species in the kindred languages, our evidence is perfectly satisfactory. Sometimes the Accadian bird-name clearly reveals itself, even without Assyrian help. I think that, for instance, the Accadian names of the swallow, which combined give the meaning of "the insect-bird which builds its nest or makes its seat on beams or wood-work, and which (in flight) closes its tail," are sufficiently indicative of that bird. Unfortunately, the part of the tablets which



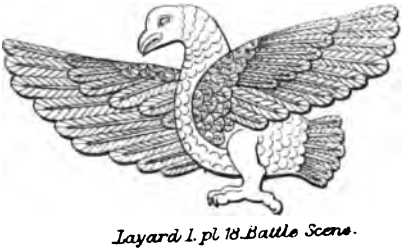


Layard I. pl. 22 Battle Scene.

Layard I. pl. 26 Battle Scene.



Layard I. pl. 14. Battle Scene.



Layard I. pl. 18. Battle Scene.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate II.

Vincent Brooks Day & Son Lith.

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once contained these Accadian bird-names are often mutilated—sometimes absolutely nothing, sometimes next to nothing, is left. The Assyrian names of course we must compare with Hebrew or Arabic, and see whether similar words occur in these or other cognate Semitic languages, and discover what is *their* ascertained or probable signification. But unfortunately we are sometimes in the dark as to the birds which the names here represent, and we may in the interpretation of some Assyrian name be merely comparing one unknown quantity with another, or sometimes explaining in fact *ignotum per ignotius.* Modern Arabic (vernacular) names sometimes afford a clue to identification, but they are used often in a vague and general sense, and seldom bring important aid. Again, the Accadian and Assyrian characters of the syllabary are frequently polyphones: they have more phonetic values than one attached to them; so we do not always know for certain the real *sound* of a name, and how it was pronounced, so that the uncertainty of *reading* is added to that of *identification.* Sometimes, though rarely, we can obtain a clue by referring back to the earliest forms of the characters through their archaic types, as pictorially represented. When we consider therefore that the almost entire materials for help in *attempts at identification* stand on a philological basis, we must proceed with caution. Philology is in our case a very important factor in the solution of the ornithological equation, but as I said before questions relating to zoology of necessity present zoological claims.

It is from want of this recognition that some writers on this class of subjects and commentators have been led into very great mistakes, and given very unlikely or altogether impossible explanations of certain bird or other animal names under their consideration: thus we have the Hebrew *Rēm*, an animal described as being of great size, powerful, and fierce, identified with the oryx (*O. leucoryx*), one of the most harmless of antelopes, simply because the Hebrew name is in sound at least similar to the Arabic word for that animal. The narwhal (*Monodon monoceros*), that curious marine cetacean with its one developed tooth, a creature

almost exclusively confined to the North Sea, has been suggested as the *nakhiru* of the Assyrians obtained from the Mediterranean Sea. Parrots have been unhesitatingly placed as native birds in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, in utter disregard of the extreme improbability of their occurrence there, seeing that they belong pre-eminently to a tropical or sub-tropical group of birds. The frigate bird (*Fregetta*) has been suggested as the *Shâlâc* (שָׁלָךְ) of the Hebrew Bible, a bird which in the case of both species of this genus is exclusively confined to tropical or sub-tropical parts.

I hope that we have at last seen the end of the claims of the *Oryx leucoryx* to represent the *r'êm* of the Hebrew Bible, and the *rêmu* or *am* of the Assyrians and Accadians. At length, amongst our German friends the *rêmu* is understood to denote a "wild-bull." Haupt, Lotz, Hommel, and quite recently Delitzsch, have decided in its favour. It seems surprising, when we consider the abundant evidence in favour of some large species of wild-ox, that its claims have not been universally accepted as being the *r'êm* of the Hebrew Scriptures.[1] I believe that Bochart, the learned author of the Hierozoicon, who died in 1661, was the first—at any rate, the first author of note—who contended that the Hebrew *r'êm* (רְאֵם, רְאֵים, רִים) was identical with the Arabic ريم, the white antelope of North Africa and lands adjacent to Palestine. Bochart was followed by Rosenmüller, Winer, and most modern German commentators, as Ewald, Franz Delitzsch, Kalisch, etc. But did not Arnold Boot, in his *Animadversiones Sacræ*, as far back as 1644, show that the *r'êm* was probably some species of *Urus*, or wild ox? Did not the learned Schultens in his *Comment. in Jobam* xxxix, translate the Hebrew word by *Bos sylvestris?* Did not Gesenius (*Thes.*, p. 1249) show very forcibly that some *Bos ferus* or *bubalus* was to be preferred to the *dorca alba* of Arabian writers? Parkhurst, Maurer, Carey, Robinson,

[1] So long ago as 1862 I showed the probable identity of the *Bos primigenius* with the Scriptural *R'êm* (*An. and Mag. Nat. Hist.*, November, 1862). Tristram confirmed this opinion in his "Land of Israel," and the Assyrian records and figures also bear clear testimony.

Tristram, and lately Mr. Cheyne, in his valuable work on the Prophecies of Isaiah, have decided against the white antelope; and though some of these writers are wrong in referring the *r'êm* to the buffalo, which found its way westerly from India only in, comparatively speaking, recent times, yet such an animal would answer better to the fierce creature spoken of in the Book of Job, than "the white doe of Golius." The identity of the *r'êm* or *rêmu* with the *Bos primigenius* is, I maintain, fully established by the most convincing evidence, as I have shown in a former paper in the Society's "Transactions," evidence which stands on bases zoological, palæontological, and historical, as shown by the figures of the wild cattle on the Assyrian monuments compared with the form and size of the horn-cores and skulls preserved in our museums, as well as by the interesting fact that remains of this *bos* have been found in the very localities where an Assyrian monarch states he killed these animals. I should state that recently Dr. W. Lotz, in his valuable work, "Die Inschriften Tiglath Pileser's I," has written to show that the *am* and the *am-śi* of the Accadian records are two distinct animals, the former being the *rimu*, or "wild bull," the latter the "elephant," names which, with other writers, I had considered as synonymous, the latter term being merely the fuller form of the other. There are a few difficulties which at present strike me as attending Dr. Lotz's explanation; but these will probably vanish after a thorough investigation of the whole argument, and Dr. Lotz will be found to be right.

You will observe, in the course of this paper, that the names of several birds are onomato-poetic, mere human attempts to give an idea of the sounds emitted by various birds by incorporating that idea in the word thus imitatively formed. This is to be expected. Without saying a word on the question of the possibility of any language having been formed on the principle of imitation, or seeming in any way to be a disciple of what has been called the *Bow-wow* school of philologists, it is quite certain that the *Bow-wow* theory is to a considerable extent true in the formation of bird and other animal names. The old Accadians and Assyrians had their *ku-cus* and their *dic-dic-i* birds just as we have, and they

made use of such imitative words to a considerable extent to express different kinds of birds in their ornithological vocabulary. In some cases the resemblance of the name thus formed to the actual voice of the bird is self-evident, as for instance in the simple and easily simulated note of the cuckoo, the name of the bird almost everywhere wherever it is known. Similarly our peewit, or the Arabic *tadwît*, or the French *dix-huit*, discloses at once the bird intended by the name. But though it is, perhaps, generally the case that we may be able to say whether such or such a name, be it Accadian or Assyrian, Greek or Latin, or in other languages, is or is not meant to be imitative of a bird's voice, it is not easy to say *what bird* is actually denoted, partly because many birds of different kinds utter not very dissimilar notes, partly because it is not easy for the unpractised voice to utter ornithic sounds in human language, and partly, also, because the same notes sound differently to different ears.

Practised persons can sometimes most successfully imitate bird-voice, and counterfeit their call-notes so admirably as to deceive the birds themselves; but even such persons would find it a difficult matter to put into writing such a well-chosen selection of syllables as to express in any natural way the sound of the notes they had themselves learned so closely to imitate. The *toroto-tinx*, *toroto-tinx*, *popopoi-popopoi* of the birds of Aristophanes, can but give a very faint idea of the sounds uttered by a chorus of feathered songsters. Similarly, the imitative words in the Assyrian lists can but give us a very imperfect notion of the bird-voices which the names thus formed are intended to represent. Sibilants, speaking generally, are meant to express the chirping or warbling notes of the song birds, while gutturals will give us the harsh notes of some croaking raven or crow.

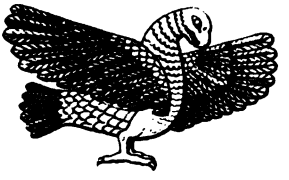
I have already stated that the references to birds in the records are few in number and almost destitute of information, consequently there are many questions relating to our subject which at present will have to remain either wholly unanswered or only partially responded to. What birds were domesticated, what kinds used as food, what methods did they employ to kill or take captive living birds? Did

the Assyrians practise falconry, or keep song-birds for the sake of their music? What particular birds were held sacred to their gods? All these are questions which can only very imperfectly be answered. Certain birds, we may be sure, were used for food; and the lists which have the determinative prefix (𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹) of food enumerate some birds in the catalogue, but here again unfortunately the tablets are sadly broken, and the useful Accadian is often almost entirely lost. Such kinds as were considered to be injurious to the crops are mentioned as being good for food. This would comprise sparrows, finches, larks, buntings, and a host of the small insessorial birds. We may also be quite sure that they ate pigeons, wild-ducks, partridges, quails, francolins, and many other kinds perhaps. The swan, whose head and neck are drawn on the monuments as a figure-head of a soldier's bow—fitly there, perhaps, as emblematic of strength—perhaps was used as food. Whether any of the rapacious birds of prey were ever used as food, I know not; but we may be certain that the Assyrians made use of birds' eggs. To what extent, if to any, poultry-keeping, or the rearing of thoroughly domesticated fowls, ducks, and geese, as we understand the term, was practised, we know not. There is no mention of domestic fowls in the Old Testament writings, though we know that the art of hatching hens' eggs by artificial incubation was largely practised by the ancient Egyptians. The tame duck, however, as we understand the term by the familiar waddling bird of our farmyards, was not domesticated by the Egyptians, I believe, and even the Greeks and Romans kept ducks only in a semi-domesticated state, for they had to enclose their duck preserves (*nessotrophœa*) with nets to prevent the birds flying out. With regard to domestic fowls, when we remember that the cock is called by Aristophanes the Persian bird, and that the domestic fowl is said to be figured on a Babylonian cylinder of the sixth or seventh century before Christ, and that the cock under several names is mentioned in the food-lists, it is pretty certain that the Assyrians kept domestic poultry. Natural history evidence points to the East, as to India, for the origin of our domestic bird, with all its numerous

varieties, and it is from this source that our domestic fowls came, through Persia, to Greece and Rome, and elsewhere westerly. We know that the Assyrians kept different kinds of birds in confinement in what we may call aviaries, and that wild water fowls formed a pleasing feature in their gardens, and on their artificial ponds or lakes. From this source they may have obtained a portion of their eggs, which doubtless were used as food. Figures of ducks in a recumbent posture were carved out of marble and other kinds of stone, and used as weights. Specimens of these duck-weights may now be seen in the British Museum.

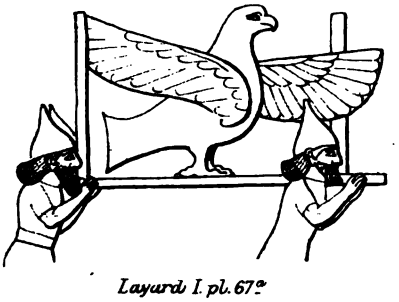
As regards the question whether the ancient Assyrians kept song-birds, there is no positive information. Sennacherib tells us that he made captive Hezekiah, King of Judah, and kept him as a bird in a cage (*ina kuppi*), *i.e.*, in some confined place. Mention is made in the lists of a bird called *paśpaśu* and *its-tsur rabi*. It is called a small bird. *Paśpaśu* is, I think, imitative, denoting some singing bird. The words *its-tsur rabi* can only mean bird of the great. These birds bred in confinement, for the young of these birds of the great are mentioned. Therefore the chirping or "singing bird of the great" seems to allude to some rare and perhaps foreign bird, which kings and great men would keep in their houses, or in their aviaries, and prize for its singing powers. Could they possibly know anything of parrots? A parrot-like bird is figured on the monuments. Parrots were known to the Greeks in the time of Aristotle, and there are several notices of these birds in the classical Greek and Latin authors, to whom they were first made known, perhaps, about the time of Alexander's Asiatic campaigns. The green *Palæornis torquatus*[1] is the species with which they were familiar. It is quite probable, therefore, that the Assyrian monarchs obtained parrots from India, and possibly some kind of parrot might be meant by the expression "small piping bird of the great." As to the methods adopted in killing winged-game, the monuments show us that the bow and arrow were effectively used. The larger kind were sometimes killed with clubs.

[1] *P. torquatus*, the rose-ringed parakeet, is well-known in Nubia, Abyssinia, as well as in India. The allied species, *P. Alexandri*, might also have been known.



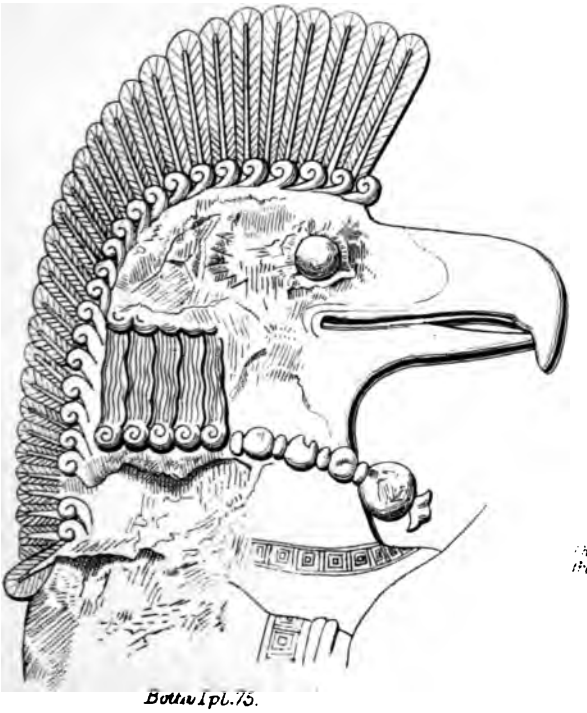
Layard I pl. 20. Battle Scene.

Layard I. pl. 18. Battle Scene

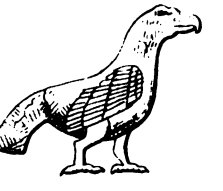


Layard I. pl. 67a

Cylinder. Bibl. Nat. Paris.
Gazette. Arch. 1880. p. 254.



Botta I pl. 75.



Sporting Scene.
Botta II. pl. 109.

Ornament from bronze vessel
from Nimroud. Layard II. pl. 68.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate III.

Typ. ... Dept. San. Lab.

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These, I suppose, would be such large birds of prey which, from being gorged with food, were unable to fly. Gins, nets, and such like devices were doubtless used by the Assyrians, though I am not aware of any definite statement to that effect.

That ideas of good or ill fortune prevailed among the Assyrians, as belonging to different kinds of birds, appears nearly certain, for the character (𒀭𒌆𒄷), which among others is that of "destiny," is also used to denote a "swallow," *the* bird or *a* bird of destiny, as foretelling or proclaiming (*nabu*) by its periodic returns the advent of spring, while the old pictorial form of the character, as I have on a previous occasion endeavoured to show, represents the figure of a bird in flight dropping its eggs, together with an ideograph which may be interpreted as representing "going away and again returning in the vault of heaven." The swallow clearly was, as among ourselves, so with the ancient Accadians and Assyrians, the harbinger of spring, and of the warm returning rains, when the herbage would grow again, and good fortune and prosperity attend mankind; and in connection with this idea it is interesting to note that one of the different Assyrian names for the swallow is *bu-li-li*, *i.e.*, "the bird of beneficial rain,"—for the Arabic word to which I think it is to be referred denotes both "rain or moisture" and "prosperity"—as if the one depended on the other, which, indeed, is neither more nor less than absolute fact. Similarly the cuckoo was favourably regarded as a bringer in of prosperity.

The common Accadian character (𒀭𒁹) *khu*, though, perhaps, not generally pronounced, representing birds as a class, is the ordinary determinative suffix; the names of "eggs," "nests," young brood, &c., will be noticed by-and-by. In Assyrian the general name of a bird is *its-tsu-ru* (𒁹 𒌋𒄩𒊭 𒁺𒌋𒌋), which like the Hebrew *tsippôr* (צִפּוֹר) is an imitative word, expressive of the chirping or twittering of many kinds of birds. A nest was called *kênnu* (𒆠𒄿𒄿 𒄩𒄩𒄩𒄩 𒀀) like the Hebrew *kên* (קֵן) from the root קָנַן or קָנָה "to form or build."

The ornithological character of the fauna of Assyria,

Babylonia, Syria, and Persia is varied. The different species which have been noticed in these lands will be found in Dr. Ainsworth's appendix in Col. Chesney's "Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris in the years 1835–1837," and published in the first volume of that work; an interesting account also of many of the birds noticed or known to exist in these lands will be found in the same author's article on "The Natural History and Resources of Turkey," published in Colburn's New Monthly Magazine, No. LIV, June, 1876, pp. 646–656. I beg to express my best thanks to Dr. Ainsworth for numerous letters with which he has favoured me on certain questions on which I desired information; some notice of the birds observed in Assyria, &c., will be found in the published "Travels" of various authors, such as those of Loftus, Rich, Layard, and others. Much interesting matter on the birds of Palestine will be found in the papers by Canon Tristram, published in various articles in the "Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London," and an excellent review of the Natural History of Palestine will be found in the same author's "Natural History of the Bible," published by the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." For the birds of Persia, Mr. W. T. Blanford's work, "Eastern Persia," vol. ii, Zoology and Geology, 1876, must especially be consulted, because all the animals known to inhabit Mesopotamia are included in this beautifully illustrated and valuable work. The territorial limits of the region to which Mr. Blanford's work *specially* refers are those of the present kingdom of Persia, but the inhabitants of Mesopotamia are also included, "because it is scarcely possible that any should be found on the Tigris and Euphrates, which do not exist in the Persian portion of the plains east of these rivers; and similarly the wading and swimming birds of the Caspian are all comprised in the lists, because all of them are believed to be met with at times on the Persian Coast." (See Introduction, p. 3.) From this it will be seen that in Mr. Blanford's work we meet with a great deal of information which closely concerns the subject I have brought before you this evening.

I need now give no more than a general sketch of the

principal groups of birds which occur in the countries with which we are concerned. The number of species of birds known to inhabit Persia is estimated at 384, but further research will doubtless add to the catalogue. Of the *Vulturidæ*, I may mention the griffon (*Gyps fulvus*), and the Egyptian species (*Neophron percnopterus*). The large *Falconidæ* include the Lämmergeier (*Gypaëtus barbatus*), the imperial eagle (*Aquila heliaca*, Sav.), the golden eagle, the white-tailed sea eagle (*Haliaëtus albicilla*, L.); the osprey (*Pandionidæ*) *Pandion haliaëtus*) is common about the Caspian. Besides the large kinds of diurnal birds of prey may be mentioned falcons of different species, as the peregrine, now employed by Persian falconers, the Babylonian and others, and kites (*Milvus*). Of the smaller hawks, we have the sparrow-hawk and the kestrel; the harriers, both hen and marsh, buzzards, &c. Of the *Strigidæ*, the great eagle owl (*Bubo ascalaphus*), the long and the short-horned owls, the little Scôps, and the *Athene glaux* may be noted.

Of the order *Picariæ* (fam. *Picidæ*), several kinds of woodpeckers; among cuckoos there is the common bird and the great spotted species. The bee-eater, hoopoe, kingfishers of different kinds, night-jars, swifts, are more or less common. Of the order *Passeres* I may mention shrikes, thrushes, nightingales, blackbirds, golden orioles, wagtails, finches, various kinds of sparrows, besides our common domestic species; these smaller incessorial birds were doubtless included in the term of "birds destroyers of crops," *abicta ekili;* larks, starlings, called little shepherd-birds by the Accadians and Assyrians as being so often found with cattle and sheep, and the locust birds (*Pastor roseus*) are found more or less common in many parts. Of the family *Corvidæ* one meets with the common raven (*C. corax*), and the smaller brown-necked (*Corvus umbrinus*) of more gregarious habits, and crows, chiefly the hooded variety. The jackdaw is common in the highlands of Armenia, but rare, if it occurs at all, in Persia; rooks occur in Palestine, but not in Assyria, and have not been observed in Southern Persia.

The order *Columbidæ* is well represented, both in species and individuals; pigeons are common everywhere, and tame

varieties, as tumblers, jacobins, and carriers are known; wood pigeons, rock pigeons, and turtle-doves. Several names occur on the monuments which appear to designate different kinds of doves. Of the order *Gallinæ*, sand-grouse (*Pterocles arenarius*) abound in the large semi-desert plains, cultivated only where water is available for irrigation, in south Persia; this is the most abundant game bird, Dr. Ainsworth tells us, of Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The birds of this family (*Pteroclidæ*) are very poor and insipid food. Pheasants abound in the Caspian forests, but not in Assyria; rock partridges and francolins are more or less common; sand partridges (*Ammoperdix*) are scarce.

Coots, water-hens, land-rails, and water-rails, among the *Rallidæ*, occur; and that beautifully coloured bird, the *Porphyrio veterum*, the purple gallinule, conspicuous with its brilliant blue plumage, and red legs and beak, is said to be abundantly found on the Caspian. Of the *Scolopacidæ* mention must be made of woodcocks, snipes, sand-pipers, stints, dunlins, curlews, stilt-plovers, and avocets. Among the family of *Charadriidæ* lapwings abound in the plains of the Euphrates valley, and are common everywhere. The golden plover (stragglers), the spur-winged *Hoplopterus spinosus*, the collared pratincole, oyster-catcher (very common), and others of the family have also been recorded. The *Otidæ*, three species; *Otis tarda*, "the great bustard"; *O. tetrax*, "the little bustard"; and the *O. McQueenii* (Gray), *i.e.*, the Hobara, or Hubri, or common bustard of Persia. The *Otis tarda* is said by Ainsworth to be generally a solitary bird, or to live in pairs, but sometimes it is found in flocks. It is frequently met with in the stony districts of Syria. The *Gruidæ* are represented by the common crane (*Grus communis*), very plentiful in South Persia, but only on passage, and by the Numidian species (*Anthropoïdes virgo*). Of the *Ciconidæ* the white stork (*C. alba*) is especially common, and the *C. nigra* also occurs. The *Ibis sacra*, the sacred bird of the Egyptians, is not found in Mesopotamia, nor in any part of Asia; but its allied relative in general form, if not strictly in ornithological characters, *i.e.*, the *Comatibis comata*, Great Bald Ibis, is very common in some parts of the country.

Many kinds of herons (*Ardeidæ*) abound, such as the buff-heron, or "cow-bird" (*Ardea russata*), so-called from its association with cattle and sheep, like our common starling —a habit noticed in the bird lists. The common heron (*A. cinerea*), white heron or egret (*A. alba*), the little egret (*A. garzetta*), bitterns both small and great (*Botaurus stellaris* and *B. minutus*), have been noticed.

Spoonbills (*Plataleidæ*) are found on the shores of the Caspian. The order *Anseres* is represented by numerous families, and the species often occur in amazing numbers on migration. Of the *Phœnicopteræ*, the Flamingo (*P. antiquorum*) is seen in marshy places, and said to be common on the shores of the Caspian. A curious story of this bird has been recorded which I will notice further on. Of the *Anatidæ*, or duck family, the common wild-duck, teal, pochard (several species), pintail, golden-eye, shell-drake, ruddy shell-drake; wild-geese, as the white-fronted, bernicle, and red-breasted species, have been mentioned as occurring in various localities, but only on passage. Dr. Ainsworth says that ducks and geese are little cared for, and rarely domesticated by the Mahometans.

Swans abound on the Caspian in winter, and, in some localities, thousands are sometimes to be seen, represented by the two species, *viz.*, *Cygnus ferus* and perhaps *C. olor*. The Assyrians ornamented the ends of their bows with the heads of swans, as represented on the monuments. Probably they domesticated these birds, and ate their flesh and their eggs. Of the *Laridæ* several sea-gulls are found, especially on the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. The commonest species are said to be the *Larus canus* and the *L. ridibundus*. Some kinds are quite tame, and fearlessly approach the fishermen's boats on the shore, or even enter villages. The large black-headed gull, sometimes called the Royal Eagle-gull (*L. ichthyaëtus*), the most magnificent of the *Laridæ*, is found throughout the southern coasts of Persia in winter, resorting to the Caspian, where it breeds, in the summer. Dr. Tristram noticed this gull on the Sea of Galilee, where he found it quite tame; whereas Mr. Blanford speaks of it in the Caspian as being difficult of approach. Several species

of Terns (*Sterna*) are recorded. Among the *Procellariadæ* Mr. Blanford mentions *Puffinus obscurus*, one of the Shearwaters, as occurring on the Makrán coast, and as being probably common in the Persian Gulf. Birds of this family are remarkably swift on the wing—can fly to windward in the stormiest weather, or rest on the water with the greatest composure in the most tremendous seas. Some of them might have been observed by the Assyrians. The *Pelicanidæ* are represented by the well-known species *Pelicanus onocrotalus*, common on the Caspian, and by the *P. crispus*, also found on the Caspian. The specific name, *onocrotalus*, of course refers to the ass-like voice of this bird; and it is curious to find that this idea is conveyed by one of the Assyrian names of the Pelican, namely, the "she-ass of the rivers" or waters. Cormorants abound on the lakes and rivers of Southern Persia, as well as on the Caspian. The species are the *Phalacrocorax carbo* (the great black cormorant), and the *P. pygmæus* (the little cormorant). The *Struthionidæ* are represented by the ostrich (*Struthio camelus*), which however is rarely if ever seen now in Mesopotamia. It formerly reached, as Canon Tristram tells us, as far as the sandy plains of Sindh, in Western India, but is now extinct there. It was evidently known to the ancient inhabitants of Assyria, who have treated us to very grotesque figures of this bird, in some very extraordinary attitudes, on the monuments, and have left on record that it was known to them as the "long-legged beneficent bird."

After this imperfect sketch of the species of birds now known to occur in the lands with which the subject is connected, I proceed at once to consider the various names which are mentioned in the Records.

(1.) The Vulture (*Vultur gryphus*) was definitely known to the Assyrians by the names of *na-as-ru* and *'e-ru-u*, although these words are also used more generally to denote any large raptoral bird, either of the family of *Vulturidæ* or *Falconidæ*. *Na-as-ru* is identical with the Heb. נֶשֶׁר (*nesher*) Arabic نَسْر (*nasr*) a "vulture" or "eagle," from a root meaning to "tear in pieces." The word *'e-ru-u* is to be referred to the Chaldee עַר (*ar*) *gryphus*, a "vulture"; with which may be com-

pared the verb עָרָה "to be naked," and probably alludes to the naked neck of the griffon vulture. The Accadian equivalent ID KHU, perhaps pronounced *êru* (𒌋𒄭𒄿𒁀), signifies "the powerful bird," and, like the two Assyrian names, is doubtless generic. References to these powerful birds of prey are frequent in the inscriptions, as "the birds of heaven," in allusion to their lofty soarings in the air, or they are mentioned as building their nests and having their abodes on rocky and inaccessible mountains. Figures of these Raptores are not unfrequent on the monuments. They occur as accompaniments in battle-scenes, feeding on the dead bodies of the slain, tearing out their entrails, and sometimes carrying off aloft the decapitated head of some unfortunate soldier. The figures are rudely drawn, and more closely resemble eagles than vultures, the bare neck of the latter bird being not often definitely represented. The figures of Nisroch, the Eagle Divinity, certainly have the long powerful beak of the griffon vulture, and, I think, have more decided reference to that bird than to any eagle. To the Oriental mind there was nothing in the griffon conveying the idea of a repulsive bird—on the contrary, it was a type, as Tristram well says, of the lordly and the noble. Both eagles and vultures are carrion-feeders as a rule, and prefer food already dead rather than be at the trouble of killing it themselves. I have already mentioned some of the species of eagles which occur in Assyria, and which would be known to the people, and referred to in a general way in their writings.

(2.) The *za-ai-khu* and *la-kha-an-tuv* denote some "screaming bird of prey," and more than this cannot be said. The word *za-ai-khu* (𒍪𒍪𒍪𒁀) connects itself with the Hebrew צָוַח (*tsâvakh*), "to cry out," or "to scream"; *la-kha-an-tuv* (𒆷𒍪𒁀𒀭𒌋𒁕) is not less clear. It is identical with the Arabic word لَحِم (*lahim*) "carnivorous," لَحَم "to kill," with which the modern Arabic name *lahhām*, "a butcher," may be compared. Dr. Delitzsch suggests its possible identity with the Arab. رَخَم *rakham* (Heb. רָחַם) "to be affectionate," and compares it with the Hebrew name

for the Egyptian vulture, a bird supposed to be excessively devoted to its young ones; but the Accadian equivalent of CA SU CUD DA, a bird, that is, which "tears with beak and talons," is against this identification, for the Egyptian vulture has, comparatively speaking, *weak claws* and a *weak bill*, not fitted for tearing its prey in any remarkable degree.[1] All that can be said of these names is that the bird denoted is some rapacious bird which tears its food with violence—in fact, that it was a regular "tooth and nail bird"—more cannot be definitively affirmed.

(3.) I am strongly inclined to believe that the Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*), that very common scavenger of the East, is definitely signified by the names *ca-ti-ma-tuv* (𒅆𒌋𒌓 𒄭𒄩 𒁹𒌋𒌓𒌋) and *'e-ru-ul-luv* (𒁹𒌋𒌓 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒄭𒄩 𒁹𒌋𒌓𒌋). The first name very likely points to the verb *ca-ta-mu*, "to cover," of very common occurrence in Assyrian. The second name *'erûlluv* may certainly be traced to the Hebrew root עָרֵל (*'â rêl*), "to be uncircumcised"; and I think that the idea of this bird, with its neck covered with feathers—in this respect so unlike that of the griffon vulture, whose neck is bare, or covered only with down—and feeding on carrion like it, staining itself with the clotted gore of the carcase it was feeding on, naturally suggested itself, and found expression in the name of the uncircumcised or impure bird.

(4.) The *tas-ba-luv*, or *ur-ba-luv*, *kha-khar ili* or *ca-ri-ib bar-kha-a-ti*, has been referred by Dr. Delitzsch with much probability to the bearded vulture or lämmergeier (*Gypaëtus barbātus*). The first word Dr. Delitzsch reads *ur-ba-luv*, comparing it with the Arabic غَرِبَ *ghariba*, "to be black," the Assyrian word being a quadriliteral, but the lämmergeier cannot in the slightest sense be said to be black in its adult or mature stage of growth. The young ones it is true are black downy creatures, and the brown hue of the back of immature birds is very dark; but I think it is hardly likely that the name refers to this stage of the bird's life. The adult bird is of a greyish-brown colour, dashed with white

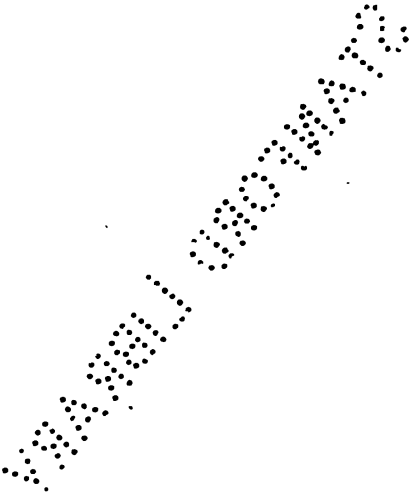
[1] Moreover, though many eagles and hawks scream when they tear their food, the Egyptian vulture never does so.

Winged human figure
Layard I pl. 36

Botta. Vol. I. pl. 74.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate IV.

Arnold Brooks Day & Son Lith.



on the upper surface. The word may with equal probability be read as *taś-ba-luv*, and be referred to the Hebrew סָבַל *śabal*, "to bear or carry," in allusion to this bird's habit of carrying some of its food, whether in the shape of snakes, or tortoises, or marrow bones, high into the air, and then letting it fall, so as to break it, and be able the more readily to consume it. The *kha-khar-ili*, "raven of the gods," may allude to the lämmergeier, and the third name of *carib barkhâti*, "the antelope attacker," may refer to another habit of this bird in approaching these and other animals with menacing violence and actual assault in knocking them down precipices.[1] There is, however, the name of a bird mentioned which you will see by-and-by, where the *urbaluv* or *tasbaluv* again occurs; it is called *its-tsur śamu*, *i.e.*, bird of a "bluish or slaty-brown colour"; it has also the name of *kha-akh*, an imitative word usually expressive of the *Corvidæ* or crow family. This very possibly stands for the same bird, whatever kind be denoted. The *kha-khar*, or *kha-akh*, is better suited to some of the *Corvidæ* than to the lämmergeier, and the expression of approaching dead antelopes would quite well suit the raven, as would also the notion of blackness conveyed by the name of *urbaluv*. We have, it is true, another name of the raven, viz., *a-ri-bu*, but as there are two well-known species of raven, namely, the *Cornix corax* and the *C. umbrinus*, occurring frequently in Assyria and the adjacent lands, it is not at all improbable that the *urbaluv kha-khar-ili*, or "black raven of the gods," stands for the large well-known common raven, while the latter bird, which is of more gregarious habits, and will explain a disputed passage by-and-bye, is denoted by *urbaluv khâkh samu*, *i.e.*, "the black cawing bird with a brownish neck."

(5.) As to the bird denoted by the *śaradu-sa cipratu*, "terror of heaven (regions)," Sayce, "Syll.," 428), as meant by its name of *śar-rad cipri* or *lal-la cip-par* (?)

[1] The modern Greeks tell curious stories of the ravenous nature of the lämmergeier. Not only marrow bones will it swallow, but a small axe's head into the bargain. Whereupon a writer in the "Ibis" humorously remarks that the meeting of the marrow-bones and the cleaver in such a situation must hav been most affecting.

(𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹, 𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹[1] 𒁹), mention will be made by-and-by.[2]

(6.) The *zi-i-bu* (𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹) or { *khar* / *mur* } *-ru-kha-ai* (𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹) is certainly the "wolf bird"; in Accadian this bird is called *nu-um-ma*, "the highlander" (𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹), the ordinary name of the carnivorous mammal in that language. *Zibu* is the Hebrew זְאֵב, "a wolf." *Mur-ru-khâi* may be the Arabic *murrukh* (مُرَّخ), with the same meaning; but I think we should read *khar-ru-khai* as an onomatopoetic word. Nothing more definite can be learnt than that these two names denote some rapacious bird, whether vulture, eagle, hawk, buzzard, &c.

(7.) As instances of the names of owls I will select three; the great eagle owl, *Bubo maximus*, or rather *B. ascalaphus*, which in Asia appears to be the representative of the European species, is, I think, denoted by the words *es-se-bu* (𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹) and *khu-śi-i* (𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹). Dr. Delitzsch compares *es-se-pu* with the Heb. יַנְשׁוּף (*yanshuph*), which Rabbinical writers identify with the *kiphûpha*, "the large horned owl." I am, however, rather inclined to think that both the names of *essepu* and *khuśi* are borrowed from the Accadian. The first word denotes a "prince," and the latter a "pilot," or "commander"; "the prince of birds" would be a very appropriate designation for this majestic owl.[3] The only bit of word in the Accadian column is 𒁹𒁹𒁹; but the full form occurs in W.A.I., V, 27, 37, where it is explained as "the bird of evil." The

[1] This character is perhaps a misapplied 𒁹𒁹 (*ar*).

[2] In W.A.I. 𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 = *śarrad cipri;* this name must be read *lal-la-ar-tuv*, the exact equivalent to *sar-rad cipri*, "terror of regions," in W.A.I., II, 24, 55, 𒁹 (*lal*) = *śi-ra-dú sa UB*, "terror (סרד) of the district," showing that here we have to deal with a bird of prey. The Accadian part of this name, 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 *adim-ma* (W.A.I., V, 29, 69, 71), is equated with 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 *tar-bá*, growth, "greatness," increase (רבה).

[3] *Es-se-pu* = *sar*, "king"; *see* W.A.I., V, 30, l. 5, obv. *Khuśi* = *racipu*, "driver," "pilot"; *see* W.A.I., IV, 32, 32; *cf.* Del. Tabl., Trans. Bib. Soc., III, p. 543; and *Khuśi* = *Khinnu*, "rudder of ship," W.A.I., II, 62, l. 52, 2, obv.

eagle owl, from its large size and fierce look, is a bird which is mentioned in some of the incantations; it is there also called *itstsur limutti*, or "bird of evil" (omen).

The *essebu* is mentioned as a bird of evil omen in a tablet relating to evil spirits, W.A.I., IV, pl. 1, line 20, 21, where the full Accadian form of occurs as the equivalent of *essebu*. This evil bird, the Great Eagle Owl, wanders about the city causing disaster. *Essebu* has been explained as meaning "a prince," doubtless in reference to the size and majestic appearance of this bird. The reading of the Accadian name is unknown, but the meaning is obvious: it is "the bird of the god so and so"; signifying "such an one, I do not care to mention him." Compare Smith's Assurb., p. 287.

Cu - um D.P. Ai - u ta - ah ina-manamma
instead of *Yautah* *or so-and-so*

as - cun -su ana sar -u- ti
I appointed him to the kingdom.

Perhaps in the instance of the bird, the idea is that of a god or demon whose name is too evil or dreadful to mention. The reluctance to express an object, whether too sacred or too detested for pronunciation, by its right name, is well known to have prevailed amongst the Jews; we may, for instance, compare with the case of the bird-god before us, that of the name of the pig, which the Jews held in such detestation that sometimes they would not designate the unclean beast by its Hebrew name of *khazîr* (חֲזִיר), but replaced the odious word by the euphemism of *dabar akhar* (דבר אחר), *i.e.*, "the other thing," "the thing," as being too abominable to mention by name. It may perhaps seem strange that the same bird should be regarded in the two very opposite lights of being both "a grand prince" and "an agent of evil"; but this is what we meet with in the natural history

lore of many nations: plain facts regarding the appearance or habits of animals, mixed up with fanciful and superstitious notions held concerning them. "Zoological Mythology" is full of such instances. The same animal is at one time a foreteller of prosperity, at another of evil, according to the ideas which have been suggested to the primitive but imaginative mind of man, dependent on certain phenomena which occur in connection with the animal, either in respect of its peculiar form or colour, the noise emitted by it, the time of its emission, be it at early dawn, middle day, at sun-set, or at midnight, or as relates to its periodic appearance or disappearance at certain times of the year; or, in the case of birds, according to the mode of flight, whether to the right hand or to the left of the observer. A few instances will serve by way of illustration. The swallow, in Aryan mythology, as the joyful herald of spring and fertility, is regarded as a propitious bird; towards the winter season it is of sinister omen, as foretelling the approach of the cold and inclement season. The same may be said of the stork and the cuckoo and other migratory birds. The turtle dove as emblematic of spring is a bird of good omen; as being of a sombre hue, it is a funereal bird in the Rigvedas, the grey colour signifying the nocturnal or wintry darkness: *see* "Zoological Mythology," by Prof. A. de Gubernatis (II, p. 226), to which work the reader is referred for numerous illustrations of the same ideas. Now with respect to this double aspect of the Great Eagle Owl, the *essepu* and *its-tsur li-mut-ti* of the Assyrian records, the same occurs in ancient Aryan mythology, and the idea has persisted, and still exists, in the traditional natural history lore of some of the nations of western Europe. The owl, from its hootings or other cries emitted during the night, is still in Hungary called the "bird of death"; in the Rigvedas the devotee is ordered to curse death and the angel of death, "to conjure them away," when he hears the painful cry of this monster that wanders in the night; thus reminding us of the passage already alluded to in the tablet concerning evil spirits, where the *essebu*, or "bird of the god so-and-so," figures as an evil incubus on the inhabitants of cities or villages, as well as to the con-

stantly occurring form of conjuration or anathema in the tablets of Exorcism, "may the spirit of heaven conjure, may the spirit of earth conjure"! But the owl as a night wanderer symbolises the moon in Aryan mythology, and thus aids to dispel the terrors of night by its brightness; hence it is beneficient, and is called by the Sanskrit name of *kâkâris*, *i.e.*, "the crow's enemy": this latter bird from its colour representing the dark night. It is curious to note that the idea conveyed by the word *essebu*, "prince," "king," &c., still exists amongst the French people as one of the names of the Great Eagle Owl, viz., *Le Grand Duc;* while the smaller species, the long-horned owl, *Otus vulgaris*, rejoices in the name of *Le Moyen Duc;* and the beautiful little Scops Owl (*Scops Aldrovandi*) is called *Le Petit Duc.* See Littre's "Dict. de la Lang. Franç.," p. 1249, and the "Portraits d'Oyseaux." The Italians also used the same word *Duco* or *Dugo* for this owl.[1] The same ducal eminence appears in the pages of Aldrovandi under the heading "*De Bubone*," where (lib. VIII, cap. 2) in the middle of the page there occurs the word DIGNITAS in grand Roman characters. "What word," asks Broderip ("Zool. Res.," p. 96), "can be more appropriate? What presence among the feathered bipeds *is* more dignified than that of the Great Horned Owl, *Le Grand Duc*, as he is most appropriately named in the kingdom of Clovis? Who can look at his feathered highness, as he sits solemn and sedate, without inquiring—

"What doth gravity out of his bed at midnight"?

[1] We have evidence to show that this ducal title attached to this owl as early as in the year 1300; for in the articles against Bernard Saget, recorded by Du Cange, we read as follows: "Aves elegerunt Regem quemdam vocatam Duc, et est avis pulchrior et major inter omnes aves, et accidit semel quod Pica conquesta fuerat de Accipitre dicto Domino Regi, et congregatis avibus, dictus Rex nihil dixit nisi quod flavit (flevit?). Vel (veluti) idem de rege nostro dicebat ipse Episcopus, qui ipse est pulchrior homo de mundo, et tamen nihil scit facere, nisi respicere homines." I quote the above from De Gubernatis, II, p. 245, note. The learned writer suggests, instead of the word "flavit" (flevit?). I suspect that "flavit" is the correct reading. In addition to the ordinary hollow tone of this owl's voice, when angry it bristles its feathers, and emits a peculiar sound, difficult to describe, but which partakes of the characters of something between hissing and blowing.

A modern writer thus speaks of the awe-inspiring voice of the "Grand Duke," as he calls this bird: "By the last fortnight in March the eagle owls

(8.) The *mar-ra-tuv* (𒌋𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹) and *its-tsur tu-ba-ci* (𒌋𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹) is doubtless another species of owl. The first name may well be referred to the Heb. מָרַר "to be bitter or sad," and denote a species of owl which is peculiarly characterised by its mournful wailings; this is the little owl (*Athene glaux*), whose low-wailing note Dr. Tristram speaks of as sure to be heard at sunset, while the little comical fellow himself is "seen bowing and keeping time to his own music"; but the common Scôps owl (*S. giu*), and the little owl, possessed of horns, which the other has not, is, I think, also included in the Assyrian names. Though these little owls are not often met with, there is not a garden of any size in Persia which does not contain a couple, at least, making night "hideous with their melancholy cry." The words *its-tsur tu-ba-ci* I interpret as the "bird of the dust or ground," from the Hebrew word אָבָק "dust." Now the first-named species of owl, the little *Athene glaux*, abounds in the great desert plains of the Persian highlands, and is often gregarious, five or six being often seen together; being more diurnal in character than most owls, it was very likely to have often been observed by the Assyrians; moreover, it lives in holes during the day, and sometimes breeds in holes in the ground, so that the owl of the dust is literally exact as a description of this species. I may also mention that Buxtorf, in his Lexicon, under the word *abak* (אָבַק), gives the word *abkûth* (אַבְקוּת), which is explained by "luctatio in pulvere"; so that, in any

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commence preparations for breeding. At this season may be heard their hollow, muffled cry of 'Poohoo, poohoo,' which is distinguishable at a great distance through the woods: and it is not to be wondered that the timid are frightened at it. In the silent dark recesses of the mountain forest, a variety of noises, well calculated to make one's flesh creep, fall upon the ear: the shrill, mocking laugh, a sound as of snarling hounds; the whoop of the hunter, the snorting of horses: these are all calculated to impress the uneducated and superstitious with the truth of the legend of the wild huntsman. Even to the ear of the better informed these hideous cries, the loud screech of the female, or the 'poohoo' of the male, intermingled with the snapping of the beak and curious wailings, sound somewhat weird; and the boldest of mortals can scarcely repress a cold shudder, when a company of these forest spirits favour him with one of their demoniacal nocturnal concerts." (Brehm's "Bird Life," p. 567, &c.)

case, the name of *its-tsur tu-ba-ci* is admirably suited to one or other or both of these two small owls.

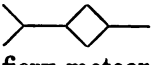
(9.) The screech owl, or common barn owl (*Strix flammea*), is very probably represented by the *ka-du-u* (𒄩𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒁹) and *ac-cu-u* (𒀀𒌋𒌋 𒄀𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒁹) of the bilingual lists. The second name appears to be imitative of the bird's hoot, for though the screech owl does not usually emit the long monotonous hoot of the tawny owl (*Syrnium stridula*), yet it does occasionly do so. The Assyrian *kadû* is identical with the *kadyâ* (קַדְיָא) of the Targum, which is described as having its eyes, not at the side of the head as in birds generally, but in front like men, and as having a face like that of the cat. This well-known appearance arises from the arrangement of the feathers in front of the head, the facial disk in the white or screech owl being very large and complete. It resembles a cat, too, in respect of its beautifully soft plumage; this character, like the soft scales of the puss-moth, giving to it the name of the "feathered cat," by which it is sometimes known. This species is not known to occur in Persia, but Tristram says it is very common in Palestine; and Ainsworth also mentions it as one of the commonest owls of Turkey.

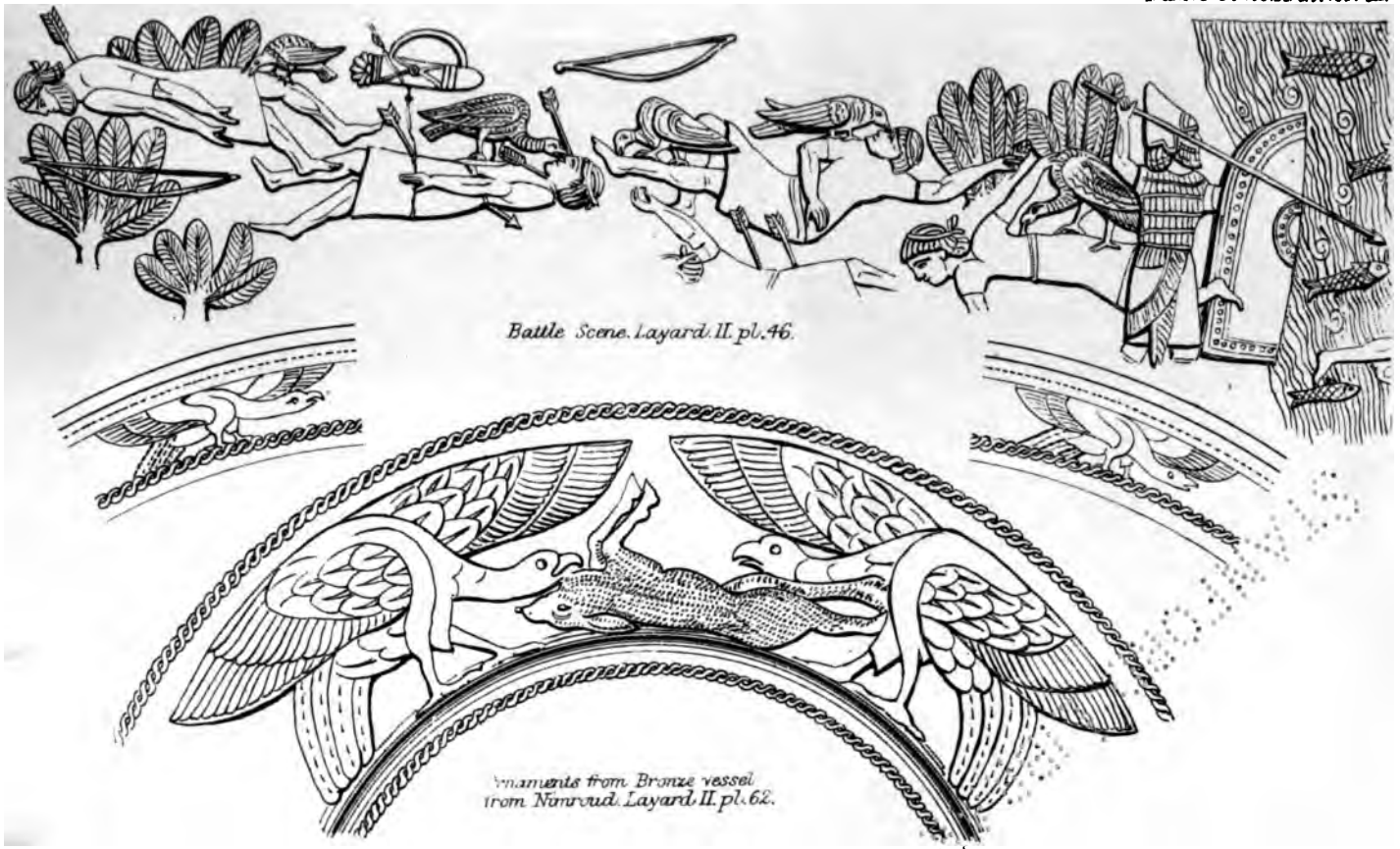
(10.) There are apparently three or four names which occur in the list as those of woodpeckers. Thus we have *ci-li-luv* (𒄀𒄀𒄀 𒀀𒄀𒄀𒄀 𒁹𒁹𒁹) or *cu-li-li* (𒄀𒄀𒄀 𒀀𒄀𒄀𒄀 𒀀𒄀𒄀𒄀), represented by the Accadian GIS-KHU (𒁹 𒀀𒄀𒄀), probably "wood-bird," for the word is incomplete; the Assyrian names are evidently onomatopoetic, expressive of the woodpecker's peculiar note. Another name in Assyrian is *an-pa-tuv* (𒀀𒁀 𒁀𒁀 𒁹𒄀𒄀), evidently allied to the Hebrew *nûph* (נוּף), "to wave up and down" (compare *nophet*, "a dropping down"), an admirable description of the peculiar waving flight of many, if not all, of these birds.[1] The Accadian name is GIS-SIR (𒁹 𒀀𒄀𒄀), which is, literally, "bright," and is

[1] A philologist pure and simple would perhaps identify the *anpatuv* with the Heb. אַנָּפָה, which it resembles in sound. There is very little doubt that the *anâphak* is the "heron"; but the "bright meteor bird of the wood" of the Accadian column would by no means suit the heron.

well suited to either the green, pied, or other species of bright-winged *Picidæ*.

We are told (W.A.I., V, 11, 37, a. b. c., and elsewhere) that the character ⊨𒌋 ⊢𒁹 is to be read *nuru*, "brightness"; so that the Accadian GIŚ ŚIR applied to a bird may denote merely its "bright" colour. We must not, however, forget that the full Accadian word is clearly a combination of the two characters ⊨𒌋 *giś*, "wood," and ⊢𒁹 *śir*, "light," "meteor," &c., so that the idea of "wood" originally held a place, most likely, in the signification of this composite group; the character ⊨𒌋 (⊢𒌋𒁹) for the *cililuv*, W.A.I., II, 37, l. 11, 61, denotes "wood," and suggests "woodpecker"; so that the name GIŚ ŚIR KHU may originally have meant the "wood bright" bird.

It is well known that the woodpecker played an important part in ancient mythology, as being the personification of fire and lightning—sharing with other birds in this respect—as the Vedic fire-bhuraṇyus, the Hellenic *Phoroneus*, the Latin *Picus Feronius*, "the *Avis incendiaria*, the picus that carries thunder." The fire, which the bird was supposed to bring from heaven, was kindled in the wood by the boring of its beak into the stem or branch of a tree; and perhaps the bright red top of the male woodpecker's head also suggested "fire" to the primitive man. It is not a very great stretch of the imagination to see in the old Babylonian linear form of the character ⊢𒁹 for a "meteor," viz.,  or a rude representation of a fiery meteor, so that the translation of this Accadian bird-name, whether we regard it as the bright active denizen of woody glades, or as embodying in some of its characteristics the mythological notion of the fire-bringer, may not inaptly be given as "the meteor bird" of the woods. It is true that, thanks to the genius of Kuhn, Max Müller, De Gubernatis, Steinthal, G. Cox, Kelly, and others, we know of these mythological legends, with their explanations, chiefly as they pertain to the great Aryan race, but when we consider how, in all primitive times, the mind of man is similarly constituted, and



ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate V.

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likely to be affected by similar natural phenomena,[1] only presenting modified forms of the same ideas, and when we reflect how eagerly, patiently, and religiously the old star-gazing people of Chaldea studied the various aspects of the heavens, and the forms of various animals, we may readily imagine that they too had their mythological systems, which admit of an explanation similar to that of Indo-European legend; indeed, as Mr. Sayce ("Chaldean Genesis," p. 123, ed. 1880) has shown, the story of the god Lugalturda, who was transformed into a *Zu* bird, or "divine storm-bird," for stealing the destiny tablets, is only another edition of the old Hellenic legend of Prometheus, who stole the lightning from heaven. The historical development of mythology among the Hebrews has been treated by Dr. Goldzieher, and though one may hesitate to adopt some of his theories and explanations, he has abundantly shown that the Semitic mind was able, if not always to invent, at least to appropriate with modifications certain pre-existing ideas, and that Hebrew myth enters deeply into many of their stories. But the admission of the mythical element in any account relating to birds or other animals by no means implies the necessary elimination of all natural history matter of fact, or frustrates the attempt to identify the creature. The animal, from some peculiarity in habit, colour, form, or other character, in fact created the myth or the superstition held with regard to it. The large size and fierce aspect of the great owl, for instance, produced in the Accadian mind the idea of majesty; hence it was called "the prince."[2] Its melancholy voice and nocturnal habits suggested the idea of "bird of evil," or "bird of the deity so-and-so." Owls from time immemorial have been regarded as foreboders of death and disaster. The expressions of Virgil, "ferali carmine Bubo," "feralia Bubo

[1] Goldzieher (Introd., p. xvi, R. Martineau's Translation, 1877) has well expressed this idea in the following words: "I start from the conviction that the Myth is something universal, that the faculty of forming it cannot *d priori* be denied to any race as such, and that the coincidence of mythical ideas and modes of expression is the result of the uniformity of the psychological process which is the foundation of the creation of myths in all races."

[2] According to M. Littré, this owl received its names of *Duc* from its being thought to have served as a *guide* to other birds. We have already seen that the Accadian *khuśi* means "a pilot," or "steerer."

damna canens," come at once to the memory. The very fact of the occasional appearance of this funereal bird—generally a lover of secluded localities—in the neighbourhood of cities, increased the impending calamity, as Pliny says, "Noctis monstrum nec cantu aliquo vocalis, sed gemitu. Itaque in urbibus aut omnino in luce visus, dirum ostentum est." (*Nat. Hist.* x. 12.) Similarly Shakspeare and other poets allude to the owl as a bird of evil:

"Out on ye, owls, nothing but songs of death."

To the red Indian of America the Virginian horned owl is equally a source of superstitious terror. But notwithstanding all the prevalent superstition concerning owls, these birds had their bright side, as we have seen, and one small species was sacred to Athênê, the goddess of wisdom, and its night-flight was a good sign to the Athenians that the goddess protected their city. We need therefore not be surprised to find in the Assyrian records the same bird designated as "prince" or "pilot" on the one side, and "bird of evil" on the other.[1]

Another name, *dulimmassat* (𒁹 𒌋𒁕 𒄭 𒀀𒀀), represented by the Accadian SIB-TIR-RA, "the jungle shepherd-bird" (𒄭𒁍𒌋 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒁹𒁹), is, I think, meant for a woodpecker. The Accadian name, "shepherd-bird of the jungle, or plantation," may, without any stretch of the imagination, allude to woodpeckers, which the shepherd, in his wanderings among the jungles, interspersed with beautiful glades, or grassy pasturages, might often have observed. The *Picus syriacus*, which is the Asiatic representative of our larger pied woodpecker (*P. major*), would well suit this description, though of course other birds of this genus having like habits would doubtless be included in the names given above.

[1] I have purposely dwelt on this marked recognition in zoological mythology of a two-fold phase, implying opposite characters in the same creature, because in the discussion that followed the reading of my paper, it was thought by some of the Members present that where birds or other animals are mentioned in incantations or mythical legends, all attempts at identification are futile: as if all natural history, in the popular sense of the term, whether among the ancients or the moderns, was not mixed up with fact and fiction! The presence of legend does not preclude that of fact; indeed, legend would often not exist without fact. The natural history fact-characteristics of the great owl, for instance, have created the superstitions with regard to the "direful bird of the unmentionable goddess," and help to explain them.

(11.) The Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*) was known to the Assyrians by the names of *khu-u-ku* (𒄩𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹) and *kha-zu-u* (𒄩𒄩𒌋 𒄩𒄩𒄩 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹); the first name is imitative of the well-known note of the bird; the second name I refer to the Hebrew *khozeh* (חוֹזֶה), a "prophet," in allusion to the periodic returns of this bird to the countries which it visits, as being the foreteller or announcer of Spring and refreshing warm showers, as I have already mentioned; so the swallow or swift was also the proclaimer (*nabu*) of returning warmth. The Accadian expression SU LU (𒋗𒅆 𒋗𒅆𒅆𒅆) "hand," and "man," refers to the form, more or less prehensile, of the cuckoo's foot.[1] The cuckoo is a migratory bird in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and in the northern parts of Persia, but in southern Persia it is probably resident during the winter months. The great spotted cuckoo (*Coccystes glandarius*) occurs also, sometimes extremely abundantly, in these countries.

(12.) The *nam-bu-ub-tuv* (𒄩𒌋𒌋𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒁹𒁺 𒁹𒁺𒁺) or *a-dam-mu-mu* (𒄩𒄩 𒁺𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭) is referred by Dr. Delitzsch to the lapwing or peewit (*Vanellus cristatus*). The former is probably an imitative word, and may be compared with the Arabic *năbăhă* (نَبَحَ), "to bark," a root which has given use to sounds produced by various animals, as the lion, dog, and stag. Certainly, the word *nambûb* is not a bad imitation of the noise produced by the lapwing, as it strikes its wings together during the breeding season when disturbed, causing the well-known *thud* or dull hollow sound which every one must have frequently observed. The second name of *a-dam-mu-mu* may be compared with the Hebrew feminine adjective *adŭmmâh* (אֲדֻמָּה), "ruddy," root אָדַם "to be red"; compare the *pârâh adŭmmâh*, "red heifer" of Numb. xix, 2, or the *śûś âdam*, "bay horse" of Zech. i, 8. Although the lapwing cannot be called a red bird, the Assyrian word may

[1] The cuckoos are zygodactylous birds, with broad and flat toes, which are arranged in pairs, two before and two behind, formed for grasping a branch firmly, though not like the woodpeckers, adapted for climbing; the outer toe is reversible, so as with the first to oppose the rest in grasping: hence from the grasping powers the foot suggested to the Accadians "The Man's Hand Bird."

very likely refer to the tail covers of the lapwing, conspicuous by their rich reddish-chestnut colour, and thus have given name to the bird. Freytag in his Arabic Lexicon, however, gives the word *nobbah* (نُبَاح) as *upupa gemebunda*, "the hoopoe," which is of a decided red or buff colour in its whole plumage, and that may be the species indicated. As to the sounds produced by different birds, it must be remembered that the same bird often produces very dissimilar sounds; the "houp, houp" of the hoopoe, whence its name, marked out softly, but rapidly, may remind one of the note of the dove, while a writer in the "Ibis" (vol. iii, p. 255) describes its note as a kind of hissing sound. The Accadian part of the tablet is broken, and gives us no help.

(13.) The swallow, and perhaps also the swift, have several names. This bird—I think the swallow (*Hirundo urbica*) is more especially meant—was called by the Assyrians the *as-ci-ci-tuv* (𒁹 𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒅆𒌋), the *es-ci-ni-ni-tuv* or *escilituv*, borrowed from the Accadian (𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒄭𒄭 𒄭𒄭 𒅆𒌋); it was also called *tsi-li-li-tuv* (𒌋𒌋 𒁕𒌋𒌋 𒁕𒌋𒌋 𒅆𒌋), the *kha-tsi-ba-ruv* (𒄩𒄩 𒌋𒌋 𒁕𒌋 𒁕), and the *bu-li-li* (𒁹 𒁕𒌋𒌋 𒁕𒌋𒌋). *Tsilituv* is evidently imitative of the swallow's note, and is to be referred to the Hebrew צָלַל "to tingle," and *tsĕlâtsal* (צְלָצַל), "a tinkling instrument," as a "cymbal." The same may be said of the word *ascicituv*, with which the Arabic *schacshăka* (شَقْشَق) "*pipivit passer*," is to be compared. *Escininituv* is obscure. With this name is associated another, *bu'-li-li*, with which, perhaps, the Arabic *ballal* (بَلَّة) "moist wind bringing rain and fertility" (Hebrew בּוֹל "rain"), may be compared; or the Assyrian word may be referred to the Hebrew בָּלַל *bâlal* (with which, however, the above-named Arabic word is connected) "to mix," to "compose," hence "to speak confusedly," and applied to a bird, "to chatter." Gesenius gives conj. II of the Arabic *balbal*, "*balbutivit*," "confuse locutus est psittaci instar, "he

spoke confusedly like a parrot." There still remain other names of the swallow: there is the *sum-tsi-tsi yum-u*, "the day swallow," and the *mat-ti-ib-nu tsal-mu*, "the night swallow," which latter name Dr. Delitzsch thinks may refer to the "goat swallow" or "night-jar"; *sum-tsi-tsi* is doubtless the Hebrew *shĕmĕts* (שְׁמֵץ), "a sharp quick sound," another imitative sound, while *mat-ti-ib-nu* (𒈠 𒌋𒁕 𒁕𒁕 𒁹) may well be compared with the Arabic *tăbina* (تَبِنَ), "he saw acutely," in allusion to the quick sight of the night-jar, which can see to catch its insect food quite late in the summer evenings. The swallow was also called *tsa-pi-tuv*. This name occurs both in the Accadian and the Assyrian columns. I fancy that it is also imitative, and borrowed by the Accadians from the Assyrians. The NAM KHU (𒀭𒄩𒄩𒄷 𒀭𒄩) "destiny bird," of the Chaldean Deluge Tablet, phonetically 𒁹𒁹 𒀭𒁹𒁹𒀭 𒁹𒁹𒁹, *śi-nun-tuv*, is represented by the Rabbinical word *senunîtha* (סְנוּנִיתָא), and also denotes a "swallow." The name *kha-tsi-ba-ru* is definitely explained in the fifth vol. of W.A.I., Pl. 27, 3 obverse, line 39, by the Accadian KHU RUB BA CU GUSUR RA (𒀭𒄩 𒊩𒌋 𒀭𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹), that is "some insectivorous bird, which makes its nest on beams." Another Accadian name is KUN GIL (𒀭𒄖 𒀭𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹), "the tail-closer." The common swallow (*Hirundo urbica*) seems to be prominently intended by the above words; but other species, as house martins, sand martins, &c., are perhaps also included in the name NAM KHU, or "destiny bird." The swift also, a bird in general outward form resembling a swallow, though not now classed even in the same order, probably is included. In Palestine the swift is more of a true migrant than the swallow, but in Assyria both species are only local summer residents. The common swift (*Cypselus apus*) breeds in certain localities in Persia in enormous numbers. From the middle of April till the end of October, near the city of Shiraz, the air every fine evening is filled with swifts, crossing and recrossing in every direction, chasing the insects, which, towards sunset, rise from the tanks of water which occupy the middle of every courtyard. "No

where else," writes Major St. John, "have I seen birds in such numbers."

(14.) The bulbul, or Asiatic nightingale, so celebrated in Persian story, is perhaps denoted by the Assyrian name of *tsu-la-mu* (𒁹𒈬𒄭𒈬𒄭𒈬) or *tsa-lam-du* (𒁹𒈬𒄭𒈬𒄭𒈬𒁺𒁺𒁺), and by that of "the bird of night" (*its-tsur musi*). The first and second names are clearly identical with the Hebrew *tsâlam*, Arabic *zulmat* (ظُلْمَةٌ) "shade," or "darkness." *Musi* is the Arabic *masā* (مَسَاءٌ) "evening." The bird of the evening and the night may, of course, be intended to denote the nightingale, and I should, without hesitation, have considered this bird to be the *its-tsur musi*, "bird of the night," of the trilingual tablet, if it was supported by the Accadian. The Accadian name in the column which stood as the equivalent of *tsalamu* and *tsalamdu* is lost, by reason of the fracture of the tablet; but in the next line the *its-tsur musi* is represented by the Accadian word *A* (𒀀𒀀𒀀) "water." It is evident, though there is a fracture-gap in this part of the trilingual tablet, that the whole of the Accadian name of this bird remains; and we read, as the synonym of *its-tsur musi*, the name of *A* KHU, "water-bird," very indefinite indeed. Had the name immediately above this one been entire, and able to give us the Accadian rendering of the Assyrian *tsalamu*, we might perhaps have had some certain clue to identification; for the nightingale can hardly be sufficiently aquatic in its habits of frequenting trees and bushes by the river or pool, to merit the simple name of "water bird," without some limitation. Therefore, the claims of another night-singing warbler naturally present themselves for recognition here. Such a bird, which will completely fulfil all the necessary conditions is found in the sedge-warbler. The same almost may be said of the reed-warbler, but I have another place for this little songster, in which I think it will rest as comfortably as if it were in its own beautiful nest. The sedge-warbler (*Salicaria phragmitis*) is always found near water. It sings late at night, and early in the morning before it is light. Its notes, though somewhat hurried and confused, are sweet and varied. They are often mistaken by persons,

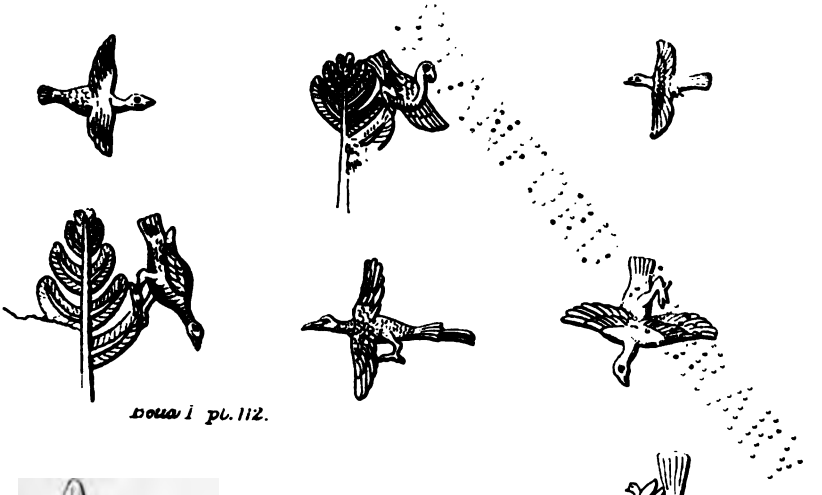
not familiar with the notes of the nightingale, for those of that bird; and I have frequently been called up at night time in summer to listen to the song of the sedge-warbler, whose notes have been thus mistaken. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that the claims of this little bird to represent "the water songbird of the night," are certainly equal to, if not better, than those of the nightingale; if the sedge-warbler is a native of Mesopotamia.

(15.) The oriole or golden thrush (*Oriolus galbula*) is very probably denoted by the Assyrian words *ma-ac-lat up-la* (𒈠 𒀀𒌋 𒁹 𒁍 𒀀𒌋) and *khu-ra-tsâ-ni-tuv* (𒀀𒄩 𒈠 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹

nest, formed of the seed-branches of the reeds and long grass, with a little wool and hairs, is so deep that the eggs do not roll out when the reeds are shaken by the wind. The Accadian word is KIP SU, of uncertain meaning. The reed warbler and the sedge warbler are both found in similar situations, but the latter bird builds its nest near the ground, and seldom makes use of reeds as a support; but see Appendix.

(17.) Various kinds of insectorial birds, such as the *Fringillidæ*, "finches," and *Emberizidæ*, "buntings and sparrows," are included under the head of "birds injurious to the crops," and were used as food, as I have already mentioned. I think, however, that our little impudent friend, the common sparrow, is definitely spoken of under the name of *di-ik-di-ku* (), or *duc-duc-cu* () and *its-tsur śa-me-di;* the first two names are evidently imitative of the bird's chirp, while the last may be rendered "bird of destruction," *śa-me-di* being referred to the Hebrew root *shâmad* (שָׁמַד), "to destroy" or "lay waste," notwithstanding the שׁ instead of the ס; or the Assyrian *śa-* { *v* / *me-di* may be connected with the Hebrew סוֹד *sôd*, "an assembly," in allusion to the congregatory habits of sparrows. The opinion of Dr. Delitzsch, however, may be preferable to any of these conjectures; he compares the Arabic *savida* or *asvad*, "to be black," and as in Arabic one name of the sparrow is associated with its colour, *its-tsur savedi* of the list may be rendered "bird of dark colour," and be identified with the sparrow on that account. Still the idea of destruction to crops caused by its devouring properties is certainly implied in the Accadian , the representative of the Assyrian word.

The sparrow, as an agricultural pest in the destruction which it causes to various crops, figures conspicuously on the Egyptian monuments. The little bird, which stands as a determinative of "evil" in the hieroglyphic system, without doubt denotes a sparrow, as Champollion first showed. This has been called in question by Sir G. Wilkinson ("Anc. Egypt," 213. 3rd ed.), who believed the bird to be, not a sparrow, agtail (*Motacilla*). In connection with the fact hic bird being regarded "as the type of an



Botta I pl. 112.

from Kouyunjik, Brit. Mus.
Place. Vol. III. pl. 57. fig 2.

from Kouyunjik, in British Museum.
Return from Hunting.
Place. Vol. III pl. 52. bis. fig 2.

from Khorsabad
Hunting scene.
Place. Vol. III. pl. 48. fig 2.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate VI.

MANUAL CONTINUATION

impure or wicked person," Wilkinson states that the wag-tail is still called in Egypt *aboo fussád*, "the father of corruption," as if in memorial of the hieroglyphic character assigned to it by the ancient Egyptians. The delineations of birds and animals generally in the hieroglyphic system of the Egyptians are often excellent, and afford pretty safe guides to identification, and I have not the slightest doubt that the little bird in question is meant for the sparrow, and not a water-wagtail. In reply to some questions I asked Dr. Birch, always ready, out of his abundant stores of deep learning, to give help—he writes that there are two birds very like in form but different in meaning in the hieroglyphic texts, such as the swallow distinguished by its forked tail, called in the texts *mena*, and used for the syllable *ur*, with or without the , as or . The other bird has a more rounded tail, , and is called by Champollion "a sparrow," the name of which appears in the hieratic papyri as *tu tu*, a kind of plague or affliction of the fields, hence used for "evil" in general as a determinative. From this it is seen that the Egyptians and the Assyrians held similar views as to the destructive nature of sparrows.

(18.) The common starling (*Sturnus vulgaris*) there can, I think, be no doubt is denoted by the Assyrian name of *al-lal-luv* (), which the Accadian SIB TUR () satisfactorily explains. *Al-lal-luv* is imitative, and must be compared with the Hebrew *âlal* אָלַל "to cry out," a term which may imply voices of grief or of joy. Compare for this latter idea Isaiah lii, 5 (יְלֵל), and the Greek ὀλολύζειν. As applied to the starling, the voice is distinctly one of joy. No one can have walked along roadsides or in the fields in the autumn or early winter, without having witnessed large flocks of starlings assembling on various trees, and immediately setting up their joyful *allalals* in full chorus of exuberant gladness. The Accadian SIB TUR, "little shepherd" bird, is exactly descriptive of the starling, so often seen in meadow lands among sheep and cattle, searching for food on the ground, or frequently perched on the back of some cow or sheep, helping to rid it of unpleasant

parasites. As mention is made of the *little* shepherd bird, so we may expect that a *greater* shepherd bird was also known to the Assyrians, and this is what we actually do find. In the same tablet we meet with a bird which in Accadian is designated as the "shepherd" by the single name of SIB, and this bird is recognized in its pastoral character under the name of *rihû* (𒁹𒄭𒌋 𒀀𒁹𒁺 𒁹𒄭𒌋𒁹) by the Assyrians, *rihû* meaning "a shepherd," and answering exactly to the Hebrew word *rōeh* (רֹעֶה), from the root רָעָה "to feed a flock." What is this shepherd bird? If I am right in the identification of the little shepherd bird, I must not refer this one to the beautiful rose-coloured pastor (*Pastor roseus*), because I want a bird larger, more or less, than the starling, the SIB TUR, or "*little* shepherd," and the rose pastor and the starling are about the same size, *i.e.*, about 8½ inches long. What kind of wild bird in England do we consider to be perhaps the most agricultural? I think we shall say the rook (*Corvus frugilegus*), the bird of pasture and arable land frequently associating with its smaller cousins the starlings in company with sheep and cattle, or following the ploughman for the sake of the worms or other food turned up by his labours. Ainsworth mentions rooks as occurring commonly in Mesopotamia, though they do not seem to be common in Persia, Mr. Blandford and Major St. John not having met with these birds in Southern Persia. Rooks are common in Palestine, and were probably well known to the inhabitants of Syria, Armenia, and the northern parts of Mesopotamia. I think that the rook is the bird intended, as represented on the monuments near inhabited buildings, having its nest and young ones on trees, as I have already suggested. The *Pastor roseus*, or "locust bird," is also eminently an agricultural species, being frequently seen associating like the common starling with cattle and sheep; hence its name of *pastor*, or the "shepherd." It is curious to think that the generic name of *Pastor*, first proposed by the French naturalist M. Temmink for certain birds which exhibit various relations to starlings and crows, for the reason just mentioned, should have been, ages long ago, anticipated by the inhabitants of Chaldea and Assyria.

(19.) This shepherd bird (*Pastor roseus*) is noted also as a devourer of locusts; hence, its name of "locust bird," and it is in this character that its name occurs in the Assyrian records. In Accadian it is called KHU RUB, *i.e.*, "insect" or "locust bird," and its Assyrian equivalent is identical, viz., *'e-ri-bu* (𒁹𒌋𒄿𒁀 𒁹𒌋𒄿𒁀 𒀀𒁹), "a locust." This bird was known to the Arabs by the name of *smurmur*, and is said by Russell, in his "Natural History of Aleppo," to be held sacred by the Turks on account of its destruction of locusts. The *Pastor roseus* "is quite a feature" in Mesopotamia, as Dr. Ainsworth writes to me. It occurs in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and South Eastern Europe, but has not been observed by Major St. John and Mr. Blandford in any part of Persia. It is, however, abundant in Armenia, the Caucasus, and Western Persia, and has occasionally visited this country. Its food, besides locusts and other insects, consists of various kinds of fruits. In Corfu it haunts the orchards early in the month of June, feeding almost entirely on mulberries; hence it is known to the peasantry of that island by the name of scamnophagus (σκαμνόφαγος), *i.e.*, "the mulberry eater." The identity of this bird with the KHU RUB and the *'e-ri-bu* of the Accadian and Assyrian lists is thus settled beyond dispute.

(20.) Among the *Corvidæ*, or crow family, several kinds are mentioned, though it is not always easy to speak positively as to the names of the species. First comes the world-wide-known bird, the raven (*Corvus corax*). This bird was known by the name of *a-ri-bu* (𒀀𒁹𒌋𒄿𒁀 𒀀𒁹𒌋𒄿𒁀), and *kha-khar* (𒄩𒄩𒄿 𒀀𒁹𒌋𒄿𒁀). The expression of "eye-picker," *budhûr ini* (𒀀𒁹𒌋𒄿𒁀 𒁹𒌋𒄿𒁀 𒁹𒌋𒄿𒁀 𒁹𒌋𒄿𒁀), is found in the list above the name of the raven, and doubtless refers especially to this bird, and to the common crow as well. *Khakhar* is clearly imitative of the "cawing" family; *Aribu* is the Heb. *oreb* (עֹרֵב) "a raven," and the Arab. *ghoreb* (غُرَابٌ); the name is generally referred to a Hebrew root, meaning "to be black," which is quite suitable to the bird, which may have thus obtained its name from the black colour of its plumage. I rather incline, however, to the opinion that the word is

originally onomato-poetic, and expresses the hoarse guttural cry of the raven. Like our word crow, so common in various languages, is the word "raven" itself; the Latin *corvus*, Sanskrit, *kârava;* German, *Rabe, pace* Max Müller, who instances the fact of the Sanskrit *kru* or *ru* as embracing many cries, from the harshest to the softest, all of which may be perfectly true, but does not in the least affect the question that the word *originally* designated the caw of the raven; for the word *cru* might subsequently have been used to express soft sounds as well as harsh ones. The bird-name *aribu* must be distinguished from the insect-name *'e-ri-bu* (𒁹𒄿𒁺 𒁹𒄿𒁺 𒁹𒄿𒁺) just mentioned in connection with the *locust bird. 'Eribu* is to be referred to the Heb. root *râbâh* (רָבָה), "to be multitudinous," as locusts pre-eminently are; the same idea of multitudes is conveyed by the Accadian word BIR (𒁹𒁺) "hosts," "swarms," &c. Distinction must be made between the Assyrian names of *aribu* a "raven," and *'eribu* a "locust," and Dr. Delitzsch has already pointed this out in his explanation of one or two passages in the History of Sennacherib. One passage reads thus: "like an invasion of many *aribi* on the face of the country forcibly they came to make battle." Another passage is similar: "from the midst of the ships *arabis*" (an adverbial form) "like *aribi* they came." Now the word *aribi* has generally been rendered by "locusts"; swarms of these devastating insects seemed so natural, while on the other hand, "swarms of many ravens" seemed to convey, at a first glance, a natural history error; ravens being almost always more or less solitary in their habits, seldom associating in numbers more than two together all the year round. It is true that the common raven does occasionally assemble, but not generally in great multitudes, when food in the shape of carrion presents itself;[1] but Dr. Delitzsch is correct, both philologically and zoologically; for in these pas-

[1] The raven's habit of congregating occasionally in flocks is, perhaps, more frequent than is usually supposed. See Seebohm's "History of British Birds," (Pt. ii, p. 535), now in course of publication. Naturalists will hail with delight the appearance of this admirable work, which breathes freshly of field, forest, hill, moor, lake, river, and sea.

sages special reference is probably made not to the common raven (*Corvus corax*), but to another species of raven, namely, the brown-necked species, the *Corvus umbrinus;* and this bird is like the rook, to a very considerable extent gregarious in its habits. "Of all the birds of Jerusalem," Canon Tristram writes, "the raven tribe are the most characteristic and conspicuous, though the larger species is quite outnumbered by its smaller companion, *Corvus umbrinus.* They are present everywhere to eye and ear, and the odours that float around remind us of their use. The discordant jabber of their evening sittings round the temple area is deafening. The caw of the rook and the chatter of the jackdaw unite in attempting to drown the hoarse croak of the raven; but clear above the tumult rings out the more musical call-note of hundreds of the lesser species. We used to watch their great colony, as every morning at daybreak, they passed in long lines over our tents to the northward; the rooks in solid phalanx leading the way, and the ravens in solid phalanx bringing up the rear."—*Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 200-201. Ed. 1867. That this is the species more decidedly alluded to as coming forcibly in multitudes on the field of battle there can be no doubt; but of course such individuals as the larger species as might collect together with them would be also included. That ravens are meant, and not locusts, by the word *a-ri-bi*, besides the reasons I have already given, can be finally settled by a passage in the history of Assurbanipal, where the Elamites overspreading Accad are compared to an invasion of *aribi;* the Cuneiform has the reading of [illegible], *cima ti-bu-ut* NAM-BIR-KHU, the Accadian name denoting most definitely *birds*, and not insects; and this Accadian word is in other places represented by the Assyrian word *aribi*, that is, "ravens."

(21.) The bird called *pa'hu* ([illegible]) and *ka-ka-nu* ([illegible]) probably denotes the "crow." *Pa-hu* is the Hebrew *pĕah* (פְּעֵה) "to cry out," and again is an imitative word. *Kakanu* may well be compared with the Arabic *kāk* (قاق) or *kik* (قِيقٌ) "a crow." The species intended is the hooded crow, sometimes in this country called

the Royston crow (*Corvus cornix*). This is the Asiatic representative of the common black crow, *Corvus corone*, popularly known among the peasantry of this country as the "carrion crow." Though formerly specifically considered distinct, these two birds evidently belong to the *same species*. They breed freely together in such localities where the two varieties meet. They are similar in form and habits, and differ only in respect of colour. The black variety common in various parts of this country does not appear to occur in Palestine or Mesopotamia, where it is replaced by the hooded crow, the variety not so generally known in this country on account of its local habits. This is the common crow of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia. The grey feathers of the back and under surface of the body of the hooded crow, Major St. John tells us, have in Persia sometimes quite a roseate flush.

(22.) Of the *ur-bal-luv* or *tas-bal-luv*, *kha-akh*, or *its-tsur sâmu*, I cannot speak at all definitely. The name *its-tsur śa-mi* points apparently to some bluish-brown cawing bird, and this is all that can be said.

(23.) The jackdaw (*Corvus monedula*) is supposed by Dr. Delitzsch to be the bird spoken of in the Assyrian lists as the "occupier of graves" or "graveyards." It is called *casid cab-ruv* or *casid ca-bar-ti* (𒄑𒄑 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹, 𒄑𒄑 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹). A somewhat similar name of a bird occurs in the Talmud as the *bath cibrayyā'* (בַּת קִבְרַיָּה), "daughter of sepulchres," which Buxtorf (Lex. p. 1963) explains as "the name of a bird, said to adorn itself with other birds' feathers, like the jackdaw" (*gracculus*). Lewysohn (*Zool. des Talmuds*, p. 175) quotes a writer (Sachs) who identifies a bird called *kibrin* with the "screech owl" as a "grave bird." In this country the jackdaw is often seen in the vicinity of churches and churchyards, building its nest in belfries and such like places. Ainsworth says that there is a small owl, "a dignified little fellow," which passes the day on the top of a tombstone in cemeteries, where it finds plenty of food at night, and, being regarded as a sacred bird, is never disturbed in its serenity." It is, therefore, quite possible that this little owl, and not the

jackdaw, may be the *casid cibarti* of the bilingual list. The Accadian equivalent is in this tablet entirely lost, with the exception of about four characters, mere endings of names, and as no other Assyrian word occurs, no other help is afforded us. On the whole, however, I think that the jackdaw is the bird which Buxtorf designates as the "daughter of sepulchres," and has decidedly the best claim.

(24.) There is good reason to identify the *bal-lu-tsi-tu* (𒁹𒁹𒁹

some small kind of dove, distinct from the turtle dove, is intended. Both the rock-dove and the wood-pigeon are common in Mesopotamia, and perhaps one or the other is intended by the Assyrian names.

(26.) Nothing at all definite can be said of the species of dove mentioned under the Assyrian name of ***ir-ca-bu*** (𒁹𒄭𒄭 𒄭𒄭𒄭 𒁹𒁹) or the Babylonian form, ***ri-ga-bu*** (𒄭𒄭𒄭 𒄭𒄭𒄭𒄭 𒁹𒁹). Dr. Delitzsch compares the Ethiopic (ርግቡ: *rĕgĕbe*) "a dove," which he thinks is so called from its shyness, comparing the name with the Arabic verb ***rajaba*** (رَجَبَ), "to be timid." Some kind of dove is certainly therefore meant.

(27.) Another dove is denoted by the word ***śu-um-mu*** (𒄭𒄭𒄭 𒄭𒄭𒄭𒄭 𒁹𒁹), which occurs both in the Accadian and Assyrian columns; the word is doubtless of Semitic origin, and borrowed by the Accadians. The *śûmmatu* is one of the birds sent out from the ship in the Chaldean story of the Flood; the swallow and the raven, it will be remembered, being the other two birds. Dr. Delitzsch compares the Arabic *sāmmat* or *śammata*, "a bird like a swallow," and translates the Assyrian word by "sand-martin." But when we compare this part of the Deluge Tablet with the account of the birds sent out by the Biblical Noah, and remember the position which the dove holds there, there seems more reason to suppose that the *śûmmu* or *śummatu* is a form of the Arabic *hamāmat* (حَمَامَةٌ), a dove or pigeon—the *s* and *h* being here interchanged—than that a "sand-martin" is meant. In modern Arabic *hamāmat* and *zamāmat* are both names of the "pigeon." The Accadian name in the Deluge - 'let is TU KHU (𒄭𒄭𒄭 𒄭𒄭𒄭);[1] it is not certain why the f the "descending bird" (for TU=*eribu*, "to descend") be given to a pigeon or dove, but I think it is quite that the idea refers to the habit of pigeons gene- ng a momentary suspension or hovering motion a

in 𒁹𒄭𒄭 𒄭𒄭𒄭 *te-khu* (Haupt, "Accad. und Sumer.

Botta II. pl. 110.

MICROMARK

few feet in the air—which everybody must have noticed—before finally alighting on the ground.[1]

(28.) The turtle dove is clearly pointed out. It is the *tar-ru* (𒁹 𒀭𒌋𒌋) or *ca-ca-ba-a-nu* of the Assyrian column; and the IGI MUL of the Accadian. *Tarru* is clearly the Hebrew *tur* (תּוֹר), the Latin *turtur*, and our English *turtle* dove. The name of *tur* is also evidently imitative of the soft coo of the turtle dove. The Accadian name of "eye-star" or "eye bright" is expressive of the bright, soft eyes of this lovely little dove; in the Canticles the eyes of the beloved, it will be remembered, are compared with those of the turtle dove, and I dare say that Oriental poetry is full of such expressions. The Assyrian name *caccabânû*, "star-bird," *cf.* כּוֹכָב "a star," Arab. كَوْكَب "a star," "to twinkle like a star," corresponds with the Accadian. The turtle dove (*Turtur auritus*) is common in Mesopotamia, Persia, and Palestine, and the *T. risorius*, another species, occurs in some of these countries.

(29.) Partridges are common in Mesopotamia and the neighbouring countries. The commonest species in Persia by far is the *Caccabis chukar*. It is a red-legged species, and specifically distinct from the *Caccabis græca* or *saxatilis;* the common partridge, *Perdix cinerea*, is not found in Mesopotamia. In Assyrian the partridge is called the *cu-lu-cu-cu*, the *cilippu*, and the *ku-ku-ul-luv;* this latter name is probably identical with the Arabic *kaukal* (قَوْقَل), which Freytag explains as the male partridge, and also the bird called *katha*, *i.e.*, one of the sand grouse (*Pterocles*), which occur in amazing numbers in certain localities. Another bird belonging to the partridge family, the *Francolinus vulgaris*, or common francolin, is very common in Mesopotamia and Persia, and must have been known to the Assyrians. It is found in great numbers in the tamarisk jungles and reed beds of Mesopotamia, and doubtless would be included among the

[1] Prof. Sayce suggests to me that the "Tumbler" pigeon is meant by the "descending" bird; considering the very early domestication of pigeons, this seems a very natural and probable explanation.

birds mentioned as having a resting place among the reeds (W.A.I., V, pl. 32, 56, &c.) The two other Assyrian names for the partridge are probably onomato-poetic, and if pronounced rapidly with repetition are not bad imitations of the call of these birds during the pairing season, or of the cry of the scared birds when suddenly disturbed.

(30). Mention is made in the historical inscriptions of some long-pouched bird under the names of *gilgidānu* and *śudinnu*. Merodach Baladan "is said to have been struck with fear, and to have fled from Babylon like *sudinni* birds."

The name of *gi-il-gi-dā-nu* ( ) has rather an Accadian aspect, and if so was used by the Assyrians as a loan word. I am inclined to think that the Accadian words, GIL and GID, are exhibited in the name. Now, GID is a well-known word, and denotes "long," whether applied to a long-legged bird, or a long kind of ship or other object. It occurs in the Accadian name of the ostrich, as we shall see by-and-bye. GIL, whether expressed by the ideograph or has various meanings. It means an enclosure as represented by the character among other significations. The character as occurring in Sennacherib's will (W.A.I., III, 16, 3), can scarcely mean anything else than a "cup" or "goblet," as Prof. Sayce has already translated it. This Assyrian monarch bequeathed to his son Esarhaddon amongst other valuables, "golden bracelets, heaps of ivory, and a golden goblet ( ) *gil khuratsi*." It is true that this explanation needs absolute confirmatory proof, and I therefore cannot speak positively. The idea therefore involved in this explanation is probably that of a bird with a large cup or pouch. The other word has a Semitic aspect: *śudinnu* ( ), as Delitzsch has pointed out, bears in sound at least a resemblance to the Arabic word *sa'dānat* (سَعْدَانَة), which Freytag renders by "columba vel nomen columbæ cujusdam," "a dove of some kind." I think that the word *śudinnu* may be referred to the Arabic *sadan* (سَدَن), "a sail," or *sadal* (سَدَل). The verb *sŭdălă*

has with other meanings that of "running swiftly," and under this Arabic root we find a bird called *sandal* (سَنْدَلٌ) mentioned as "nomen avis vorantis napellum," "the name of a bird which devours the herb napellum," whatever that may be. The idea gathered from the whole consideration of the two words seems to be that of "some long-legged pouch bird which runs with great swiftness," and I am strongly disposed to believe that the great bustard (*Otis tarda*) is denoted. This bird runs with great swiftness, using its wings sail-like, after the manner of ostriches, to accelerate its speed. When it flies, it moves its wings slowly like a heron, the flight of which bird we often speak of as "sailing" in the air. They are shy and timid birds, easily scared, expressing strong marks of fear on the appearance of even a small hawk overhead. The male bird is characterised by a peculiar membranous pouch or bag, capable of holding seven wine pints of liquid; the entrance into it is between the under side of the tongue and the lower mandible of the bill. The function of this remarkable anatomical peculiarity is, I believe, not known; female birds are destitute of it, neither is it present in all the males. The great bustard is mentioned by Ainsworth as occurring in Mesopotamia; it is frequently met with in the stony districts of Syria; sometimes as a solitary bird or in pairs, sometimes in large flocks. According to Blanford and Major St. John, the great bustard is found in the Caspian Islands, near Astrabad, in Armenia, and is believed to be an occasional visitant to many parts of Northern Persia. In the Transcaucasian provinces of Russia it is common. Such a bird would certainly have been known to the ancient Assyrians and Accadians. As an article of food the flesh of the bustard is highly esteemed; and, according to the late ornithologist Mr. Gould, this bird is frequently seen on the Continent exposed for sale in the markets.[1] Doubtless the ancient dwellers in the lands where the great bustard was found used to hunt it, and eat its flesh. So remarkable a structure as the gular pouch possessed by the male bird, is a character which the observant Accadians could not fail to

[1] Xenophon (*Anab.*, I, v, 4) says "the flesh of the bustard is very sweet."

have noticed on occasions of its being prepared for cooking, and I think that the presence of this gular bag is intimated by the Accadian word *gil*, the first component part of the bird name *gil-gid-anu*, which stands for the great bustard. Other species of bustards are found in the lands with which we are concerned.

(31.) The common crane (*Grus cinerea*) is mentioned in the bilingual lists as the *ur-ni-gu* (𒌋𒄩𒄭 𒀭𒊏𒄿 𒄷𒄭𒄭) or *ur-ni-ku* (𒌋𒄩𒄭 𒀭𒊏𒄿 𒄷𒄭𒄭), and *ca-li-u* (𒄷𒄭𒄭 𒄷𒄭𒄭𒄭𒄭𒄭𒄭𒄭𒄭). The first name appears to be identical with the Arabic *ghir-nīk* (غِرْنِيق), "a water bird with a long neck," a very indefinite explanation, it is true, when taken by itself; but it is certain that the crane is meant. Under the name of *Ghörnak*, Forskal mentions a white bird which feeds on gadfly larvæ found on the backs of cattle, "æstris pascitur in tergo bovum nidificantibus," which, as we shall see by-and-by, is the buff-backed heron. As a warning of the necessity of being acquainted with the natural history of the bird, or any animal under consideration, before we make some positive assertion, a matter to which I have already alluded, I will add just this one more. Rosenmüller, the great German orientalist and commentator on the Scriptures, whose name cannot be mentioned without feelings of the greatest admiration, Rosenmüller, in his very valuable notes to Bochart's "Hierozoicon," has this short comment on Forskal's *Ghörnak*, "Patet hanc avem non esse gruem," "It is evident that this bird is not a crane." True, the bird is not a crane, but a heron; but the improbability of a heron in such situations would appear as great as that of a true crane. *Ghurnuk* and *kir-ki* are modern vernacular for the crane in Arabic.

The word *ca-li-u* or *ca-lu-u* is identical with the Chaldaic (*cĕla*) (כְּלָא) "to call out," in allusion to the loud, sonorous voices of these birds, which they utter high in air on their periodic migrations. The *Grus cinerea* is not uncommon in many parts of Mesopotamia, and is plentiful in South Persia.

(32.) The stork (*Ciconia alba*) is a common feature in

Turkey, where it is held in esteem as a scavenger and a destroyer of snakes. It is mentioned in the lists under the name of *rak-rakk-u* (𒁹𒁹 𒌋𒌋) or *la-ka-la-ka* (𒆠𒆠 𒆠𒆠), which is evidently identical with the *lak-lak* (لقلق) of the Arabs, at present used in Turkey to denote this bird. Although the white stork is included in the name of *lak-lak*, or *rak-kak*, originally meant in Arabic to be expressive of the sound produced by the bird, it would appear that the black stork is the species which the Accadians had in view when they named the stork. By them it was called the SI-ZI bird, *i.e.*, "the green bird"; for śI-ZI (𒌋𒍪 𒁹𒍪), or ideographically 𒄀[1], is the equivalent of the Assyrian *arku*, "green," and the KHU-ŚI-ZI bird is, in one of the bilingual lists (W.A.I., II, 26, 56 l.), identified with the *ra-ak-ra-ku* (𒌋𒍪 𒁹𒀀 𒌋𒍪 𒌋𒌋) "a stork." Now there is not a bit of green colour in the plumage of the white stork, neither in its beak nor legs; but in the black stork (*Ciconia nigra*) the whole of the dark plumage is varied with purple and copper-coloured and *green* reflections, so as fully to justify the name which the Accadians gave to this bird. The colour signified by the śI-ZI and *arak* is either "green," like grass, hence *urcitu* "verdure," or yellowish-green, or yellow, or golden-yellow, or any colour of varied green. The Hebrew word *yerakrak* (יְרַקְרַק) is used of the feathers of a dove in Ps. lxi, 14; and the golden colour refers to the beautiful play of metallic lustre observed in the neck of several wild pigeons; compare Tennyson—

> "In the Spring a livelier iris changes on the burnished dove."
> —("Locksley Hall," l. 19.)

"The common stork is found all over the plateaux of Persia, building its nests on minarets, and oftener on the low towers which flank the mud walls of Persian villages. It is not molested by Persians, who say that it makes a pilgrimage to Mecca during its annual winter absence, whence its name

[1] The pronunciation of 𒄀 as 𒌋𒍪 *śi* or *si*(*t*) is given in W.A.I., V, 27, l. 6: 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒄀 𒌋𒍪 𒁹𒁹𒁹 = "some green insect."

of *Hájjí*."—(Blanford, ii, 297.) It is common also in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and other countries. The black stork, which is a more shy bird than the former, is less common.

(33). Some kind of bird, which I am inclined to think denotes the black ibis, is mentioned under the names of *um-mi mi'i* (𒌓𒈬𒈬 𒁹𒌓 𒈬𒈬𒈬), "mother of waters," and *a-ba-ya* (𒀀𒁀 𒀀𒁀𒅆). The first name, so far as its meaning is concerned, is clear, but it is not so with the word *a-ba-ya*. Lenormant gives the word as an Accadian form, but without suggesting its signification. Perhaps it is onomatopoetic. Delitzsch compares it with the Talmudic *ibbu*, which is supposed to represent the Biblical *anaphah* (אֲנָפָה) and to signify "a kite" (?) and he suggests the osprey as the probable meaning. But do not the words "mother of waters" imply some more decided aquatic bird than the osprey? Some water-presaging bird appears to be intended; perhaps the bald ibis (*Comatibis comata*), a bird of very similar habits to the Egyptian ibis (*Ibis religiosa*), which was held sacred by that ancient people. This latter bird always appears on the Nile at the times of its periodic rise, just as the waters showed signs of overflow; hence the bird was regarded as a prescient creature, foretelling the longed-for inundation and the consequent fertility of the land. Some such idea, I think, is intended by the expression "mother of waters," though both the Hebrews and the Arabs frequently employed the words "father" or "mother" to many kinds of animals as being "possessors" of some peculiarity, whether of habitat, form, or periodic appearance. The terms *abu hannes*, "father of John," and *abu mengal*, "father of the sickle," are both names of the Egyptian ibis; the former referring to the appearance of the bird about St. John's day, the latter to the peculiar shape of the bird's bill. The glossy ibis is found in large numbers on the Murdáb, near the Caspian, where another species, the *Tantalus ibis*, also occurs. The glossy ibis is also at times very common on the Euphrates. The appearance of these birds happening about the same time as the welcome rain, caused them, among other reasons, to be looked upon with more or less

of reverence, and to have thus earned the name of "mothers of waters."

(34.) The name of a bird called A GUS (), "long horn," by the Accadians, and *na-adh-ru* () by the Assyrians, occurs in the fifth volume of W.A.I., 27, 3, ob., l. 46. I have no doubt that the long-horned or long stiff-crested *heron* is intended. *Nadharu* or *nâdhru* is the Heb. *nâtar* (נָטַר, Arab. نظر), "to guard," "keep watch"; these attributes both suit the heron (*Ardea cinerea*), with its long, slender, occipital feathers, which will watch patiently, standing for hours together motionless, watching for any passing fish, mostly with its feet in the water, remaining "still as if carved out of wood."

(35.) The buffed-back heron (*Ardea russata* or *Herodias bubulcus*) has peculiar habits, which were very likely to attract the notice of the observant Accadians and find expression in a name. This heron is known as the "cow bird" in countries where it is found, from its habit of associating with cows and sheep. It is, a writer in the "Ibis" (III, vol. ii, p. 245), speaking of this heron, writes, "always seen among cattle. I have seen a buffalo walking along with three or four of these birds or (*Herodias intermedia*) sitting on its back, reminding one of an itinerant vendor of plaster-of-Paris images." The buff-backed heron is common in Mesopotamia, as are also some other species. The Accadian character is () the UA or cattle bird. The Assyrian equivalent is unhappily lost by fracture of the tablet.

(36.) Some magnificent bird is evidently denoted by the Accadian word *dhar-lugal-luv*,[1] borrowed by the Assyrians, and represented in the Accadian column by *dudurranu*. The Assyrian name means literally "the variegated royal bird." I think that the flamingo is here intended. The *Phœnicopterus antiquorum* is a magnificent bird, and is quite a feature in certain marshy places in Mesopotamia. A wood-cut figure of this bird is given in Colonel Chesney's work,

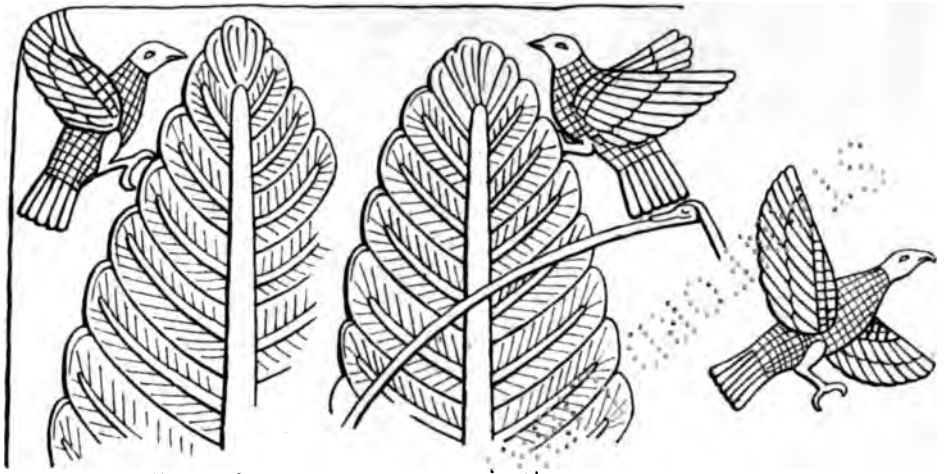
[1] *Un-gal* () to be read *lu-gal*, is one of the Accadian names for a king. (W.A.I., V, 30, l. 12.)

"The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris," 1850, Vol. II, p. 44, where it is called the *Tair-el-Raouf*, or the magnificent bird (Arabic *rafi*, رفيع), "noble," "exalted." "These extraordinary birds," it is said, "frequent the rivers Sájur and Koweik." Dr. Helfer, a German naturalist who joined the expedition, says that these birds "are seen in large flocks, and it is known that they have the surprising habit of forming a kind of artificial embankment across the rivers Saggéoar and Kouweïk. Having for this purpose chosen the shallowest spot, they arrange themselves side by side in several close ranks, and sit down with their tails to the current, and their feathers spread out. By this contrivance they in some degree check the course of the water, which in consequence overflows at the chosen spot, and one of the flock, previously placed as a sentinel a little distance from the rest, gives as a signal a cry not unlike that of the stork, but much more shrill; upon which the rest of the flock dart upon the fish, frogs, toads, &c., which are then almost without water, and make a sumptuous repast of all that are thus caught." (Appendix, p. 722.)

It is extremely improbable that this extraordinary and cunning proceeding has been corroborated by other evidence. Can the Accadian name of this "royal bird" be understood as in any way a confirmation, if not of a veritable fact, yet of an idea that at all events is at present held by the natives of these districts?

In a letter which Dr. Ainsworth has kindly favoured me with, in answer to my inquiries, he writes: "I never heard of anyone corroborating the story told of the flamingo, under the name of *Tāir-el-Raouf*, "the splendid bird," by Colonel (late General) Chesney; but I know that he had it from an old resident in Aleppo on his first journey. I met the gentleman, whose name I forget, afterwards at Aleppo, and I have every reason to believe that he was a conscientious man, and in every way to be trusted, although the story has an Oriental savour about it." Now the Accadian name answering to the *dhar lugal-lur* (𒁹𒈨𒈬 𒀭𒈬𒆠 𒄀𒀭𒌋𒁺𒆠), "the royal bird" of the Assyrian column, is complete. It is wrongly transcribed

from Koyunjik, procession with fruit &c. Layard II pl. 9.



Hunting Scene from Khorsabad, Layard II pl. 32.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate VIII.

in W.A.I., II, 37, l. 37; but Mr. Pinches, with his usual good nature, has given me the correct reading from the tablet itself: the name of this bird appears as [illegible], *dudurranu*; now we find the word [illegible] given (in W.A.I., II, 33, l. 25) as the equivalent of the word [illegible], *ra-kha-tsu sa a-sa-bi*, an "inundation" or "flood of a seat."[1] The ending of the bird-name in the Accadian column looks very like this *dudurru*, with the usual adjective Semitic ending of *ānu*. Is it not therefore possible, or perhaps probable, that the "royal variegated bird" is also the "inundation bird"? and that we thus have a corroboration of a story, which, even though it be doubtless destitute of actual fact, is evidently current to this day among the natives of North Syria? We know how persistently old beliefs maintain their ground, and how traditional stories about animals are handed down from one generation to another; so that this story about the flamingo appears to exist in its old Accadian name of "the inundation bird," while the old Assyrian name of "the royal bird" appears with the very similar title of "the magnificent bird" in the vernacular Arabic of the people of modern Syria.[2]

(37.) We are indebted to Dr. Delitzsch for the very satisfactory explanation of the Assyrian names of the pelican. It is a great thing to get hold of some particular feature in a bird's form, voice, or habits—something which at once arrests the attention, and stamps some definite idea upon the mind of the observer—some peculiarity which the possessor of a certain attribute and structural formation exhibits different from other creatures of the same class. It is natural to suspect that what strikes us now-a-days as remarkable, also

[1] *Cf.* also W.A.I., II, 21, l. 53 [illegible] = [illegible] *calú-sa-mé*, "damming of the water"; 24, l. 45 = *ra-kha-tsu sa a-sa-bi*, "inundation of the seat."

[2] Another explanation of this bird-name may, however, be given: [illegible] *dur* = *marcatu*, a "diadem," or "girdle" (W.A.I., II, 31, l. 10); and [illegible] *dur-makh* = [illegible] *d(h)ur ma-khu* (l. 13), so that the whole bird-name would read as the "royal-banded bird," which I am unable to identify.

appeared remarkable to a greater or less extent to observers of past ages. Now the pelican is a very remarkable bird. The wonderful pouch of its lower mandible marks it at once; and such a peculiarity one would naturally suppose would find especial mention in any account, whether descriptive or verbal, that we may meet with. Yet, strange to say, in the case of the pelican, its very name is a misnomer. Our English word is from the Greek πελεκάν or πελεκῖνος, a name manifestly derived from πελεκάω, "to hew with an axe." The name thus derived was first used by the Greeks to denote "a woodpecker." It was the woodpeckers, πελεκανες, who acted as the clever carpenters that hewed out the gates of the City of Cloud—Cuckoo-borough, in the birds of Aristophanes, and the name is admirably suited to the woodpecker, which uses its bill in making holes in trees. Aristotle uses the word πελεκάν for the large web-footed bird of that name, but nowhere alludes to its extraordinary bill. He says it is migratory, and devours shell-fish. The etymology of the Greek word would show that the name was originally used for the woodpecker. Subsequently, it would appear, the name was applied to denote the web-footed bird, probably on account of its large bill. Ælian also mentions this bird under the name of pelican, but says nothing about its pouch. The pelican, under the name *onocrotalus*, is well described by Pliny, who is the first writer, as far as I can learn, to speak of a pouch under the throat. But the name pelicanus never found its way into classical authors. It is used by Jerome in his commentary on the 101st Psalm. The story about the pelican feeding its young with its own blood was originally told of the vulture, and found its way from Egyptian fable into the writings of Patristic theologians. In the devices of a bird tearing its breast and feeding its little ones with its own blood, so frequently seen on monuments, and in old church architecture, you will always find that the bird is not a pelican, but a vulture, or an eagle. The word *onocrotalus*, used by Pliny, and evidently borrowed from the Greeks—but by whom, and when, and where used by that people I know not—is both in its definition and in the account which Pliny gives, admirably suited to the pelican, and to no other bird.

The name takes its origin from the pelican's voice, which was supposed to resemble the cry of the ass, and which, indeed, as a matter of fact, it does resemble. Wishing for information on this point, I wrote to Mr. Bartlett, the well-known naturalist of the Zoological Gardens, and he writes to me as follows: "The pelican utters a loud and single note, after the fashion of a bray or blare, and this is not unlike the voice of an ass." Similarly we have applied the term "Laughing Jackass" to the great kingfisher (*Dacilogigas*) of Australia. We now come to the Assyrian and Accadian names of the pelican.

This bird is mentioned by several names in the lists, and once in the Historical Inscriptions: it is called *tus-mu-u* (𒌋𒄩 𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹), *ab-bu-un-nu* (𒀀𒀀𒌋 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹), and *a-ta-an nahari* (𒀀𒌋𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹) by the Assyrians. *Tusmu* may, of course, be read *cu-mu*, but in that form the word is not easy of explanation. This *tusmu* is mentioned in the Annals of Sargon (Botta, 129), who relates his campaign with Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon. Being hard pressed, the Babylonian monarch shut himself and his army within the city of Dur Yakin, which had been surrounded by canals turned off from the Euphrates during the overflow of its waters. Of his position here, Sargon writes, "He, together with his auxiliaries and his forces, like a *tusmu* bird, amid the canals placed the ensigns of his royalty." The spectacle of an army placing itself within the water-protected area is compared to that of a flock of pelicans; the king himself, with his royal or state accoutrements, being, perhaps, surrounded by his forces, on the look out for any meditated attack from the enemy. It is possible that reference here may be made to a peculiar habit of the pelicans, recorded by Dr. Ainsworth, in arranging themselves so as to provide against the attack of jackals, or other carnivorous enemies. "These birds congregate in the evening and have a grand soar in the air; after which they alight where the plain is open, and the vegetation low and grassy; disposing themselves carefully in circles, with their heads outwards, so that jackals, or other enemies, ever hunting in the evening for

their prey, cannot approach them unseen." On the great rivers, the pelicans more wisely select islands as their resting places. The position therefore of the king of Babylon, amid water-surrounded lands for safety, may not unaptly be compared to that of pelicans when threatened by their enemies.

As to the meaning of the word *tus-mu*, it may be compared with the Hebrew *nâsham* (נָשַׁם), "to blow" or "puff out"; the *n* (נ) having dropped out of the Assyrian word, just as *madata*, "tribute," has come from *mandatta*, from (נָדַן) "to give." The puffing-out bird being of course referable to its swollen pouch. The name of *abbûnnu* may with equal probability be compared with the Arabic verb *habîn* (حَبِنَ). "Aqua intercute tumuit "inflavit" tumidum reddidit," "to be puffed out with fluid," which is strikingly true of the pouch of the pelican's bill, which is capable of enormous expansion, as every menagerie showman always takes care to exhibit to the visitors. The name of *atán nahari*, however, gives the best key to the explanation of the other words. Atân is the Hebrew *âtôn* (אָתוֹן) a "she ass," and *na'ri* is the genitive case of *na'ru* "a river." The she ass of the waters, with its swollen mandibular bag, is the name of the *Pelicanus onocrotalus* as represented in the Assyrian names. The Accadian names, which are two in number, are not so easily explained. They are (1) NAM BIR MUKH DIL LUV (𒀭𒁀𒄭𒄷𒄭𒄷𒁀𒁀 𒀭𒁀𒄭𒄷𒄭𒄷𒁀𒁀 𒀭𒁀𒄭𒄷𒄭𒄷𒁀𒁀 𒀭𒁀𒄭𒄷𒄭𒄷𒁀𒁀 𒀭𒁀𒄭𒄷𒄭𒄷𒁀𒁀 𒀭𒁀𒄭𒄷𒄭𒄷𒁀𒁀) and (2) RAG GUŚ ŚA (𒀭𒁀𒄭𒄷𒄭𒄷𒁀𒁀 𒀭𒁀𒄭𒄷𒄭𒄷𒁀𒁀 𒀭𒁀𒄭𒄷𒄭𒄷𒁀𒁀). RAG GUŚ ŚA may mean "the female pelican on her nest," or, more definitely, "with her young ones." RAG is the usual character for a "female" of any animal; GUŚŚA is compared with *tardin-nu*, "offspring." (W.A.I., II, 29, l. 64, with II, 30, l. 46, where *tir dinnu* = *mâr*, "son," "offspring.") Pelicans like many other birds are very tame when they have nests or young ones, and would thus have readily presented opportunities for close observation under such circumstances. They have been seen in large quantities on the Caspian, on the shallow marshy shores of which they breed. The ordinary species which is common on the Caspian is the *Pelicanus onocrotalus*, though *P. crispus* also occurs there.

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(38.) I have already alluded to the question whether the Assyrians kept domesticated poultry: I think there is sufficient evidence to show that the answer may be given in the affirmative. There are several names of one and the same bird mentioned in a food list in W.A.I., II, 42, lines 67–70, the most common being those called [illegible] *cu-ni-pu* and [illegible] *'e-zi-zu.* All these words demand examination. There can be no reasonable doubt that the domestic cock is the bird denoted. At one time I was inclined to think that the swan was intended, but my friend Mr. Sayce was able to point out one of three occurring names which served as a key to the problem. The *cunipu* and *'ezizu* denote the same bird, and the *'ezizu* in line 19 of the same plate (42) is equated with [illegible] *dil-bat* as an edible bird. Fortunately *dilbat* is well known: it is "the announcer," "the proclaimer," or "herald"; see W.A.I., II, 7, 37, where *dilbat* = *nabû*, to proclaim, &c., and [illegible] or [illegible] is the planet Venus (Istar), the "announcer" of the dawn or of the evening. It follows therefore that all the names which are equated with *'ezizu* must also be equated with *dilbat.* The cock as the "announcer of dawn," as the "trumpet of the morn," is proverbial almost everywhere. As the announcer of news the cock was sacred to Mercury, as the curer of diseases to Æsculapius, as a warrior to Mars, Hercules, &c. Among the Persians the cock not only awakened Aurora and aroused men from sleep, but it also caused the demons of night to depart. In the Avesta the cock is called *Parôdars*, "upon whom evil-speaking men impose the (nick) name of *Kahrkatâs*"; "this bird," it is added, "lifts up his voice at every godly morning dawn, (saying) 'Stand up, ye men, praise the best purity, destroy the *Daêva.*'" (See Vendidad, xviii, 34–37; Bleek's translation, p. 128.) The demon which the cock puts to flight is the *Daêva Bushajançta*, "with long hands," *i.e.*, the demon of long sleep. In extracts from the Avesta, p. 197, the following Jewish prayer is given, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God! King of the universe, who grantest to the cock understanding to distinguish between day and night." We are further told that the

Parsees do not eat a cock after it has begun to crow. We know that the ancient Romans took augury from cocks and young fowls: so we may expect to find this bird figuring in the Assyrian records. I do not know, however, of any allusion to these birds as birds of augury; but that they did appear in early times on sacrificial occasions is certain, from the impression of the conical seal obtained by Sir A. H. Layard at Babylon, an engraving of which may be seen in Layard's "Nin. and Babyl.," p. 538. The seal is "an agate cone, upon the base of which is engraved a winged priest or deity, standing in an attitude of prayer before a cock on an altar; above the group is the crescent moon."

There is a cylinder in the British Museum in which there is a subject very similar. "A priest, wearing the sacrificial dress, stands at a table before an altar bearing a crescent, and a smaller altar, on which stands a cock." The Hebrew commentators thought that Nergal, the idol of the men of Cuth, had the form of the cock, writes Layard, referring to Selden, "De Dîs Syris," p. 251. I may mention that Montfaucon, in his "Antiquities," gives a similar sacrificial representation in the plate "Duodecim Anni Menses," where Januarius is depicted as a priest burning incense on one altar, and having on his left hand another conical shaped altar, a cock standing at his feet. We know that fowls played an important part as birds of augury. As Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," x, 21) says, it is from the feeding of these birds that the omens are derived, "tripudia solistima; it is these which regulate day by day the movements of our magistrates, and open or shut to them their own houses; it is these that command battles or forbid them, and furnish auspices for victories to be gained in every part of the world; it is these that hold supreme rule over those who are themselves the rulers of the earth, and whose entrails and fibres are as pleasing to the gods as the first spoils of victory." It is not improbable that the sacrificial rites and consultation by augury, in which cocks figured amongst the Romans, came originally from Babylonia, and that as some of the zodiacal signs had their earliest origin in Babylonia, so the sacred rites connected with the Roman months had some of them a similar origin. I think that

the figure of the cock perched on an altar before a priest making his offerings, leads us to conclude that this bird was to some extent sacred, and that one of the numerous names of the cock, viz., *'e-na-nu* (עָנָן "to divine," "augurans," "observans somnia" (Vulgate), represents this bird in this capacity as a soothsayer. The following names occur as denoting the cock; all have the determinate prefix of , "food," before them.

(*a.*) , *cu-ni-pu*, or *cu-ni-ip* (khu). The derivation of this word is uncertain: it may be connected with the Hebrew כָּנָף, "a wing," and allude to the constant clapping of its wings in the act of crowing (*cf.* Pliny, x. 21, "ipsum verum cantum plausu laterum"), hence called the "wing-bird"; or it may refer to the original meaning of the Hebrew word for a wing, *i.e.*, "to cover," "to hide," in allusion to the hen bird covering and brooding over its chickens. As some other names of the domestic fowl refer to the bird's voice, it is not improbable that *cunipu* may more definitely denote the covering or brooding hen, but was not used exclusively in that sense.[1]

(*b.*) *'e-zi-zu*, "the strong bird," Heb. (עָזָז). This is a suitable name for the bold pugnacious cock, the emblem of Mars, able, according to the Latin tradition, to inspire terror even in the lion. With the Assyrian name we may aptly compare the Aramaic word גְּבַר, "the strong bird," occasionally used by Talmudic writers as one of the names of the cock: see Buxtorf, "Lex. Chal.," pp. 384, 385. The fem., גַּבְרִית *gabrîth*, is also given as the name of the hen.

(*c.*) With *'e-zi-zu* is also associated the Accadian name *gar-mi-kharmes* (?), a word which awaits explanation.

(*d.*) Another name as an equivalent of *'e-zi-zu* is *a-gus-se;* but as another very similar word, *a-vu-se*, also occurs as a synonym, the two may be

[1] Our English word "cock" is borrowed from the French *coc*, and is not of Anglo-Saxon origin. The old word for a cock was *Hana*, a masculine word, corresponding to English hen; *cf.* German, *der Hahn;* and see Skeat, "Etym. Dict.," p. 118.

connected, and read as *avusse* and *a-vu-se* respectively. This name is probably to be referred to the Aramaic אוּשׁ *avvêsh*, "personare," perstrepere, "sonum edere," a fit name for the noisy crowing cock.[1] The *avuse* in W.A.I., II, pl. 42, l. 18, comes just before the *'e-zi-zu*, and like it is called the *dilbat* (𒁹 𒁹), "the announcer." The name may, however, be of Accado-Sumerian origin; *g* = Sumerian *m* or *v*.

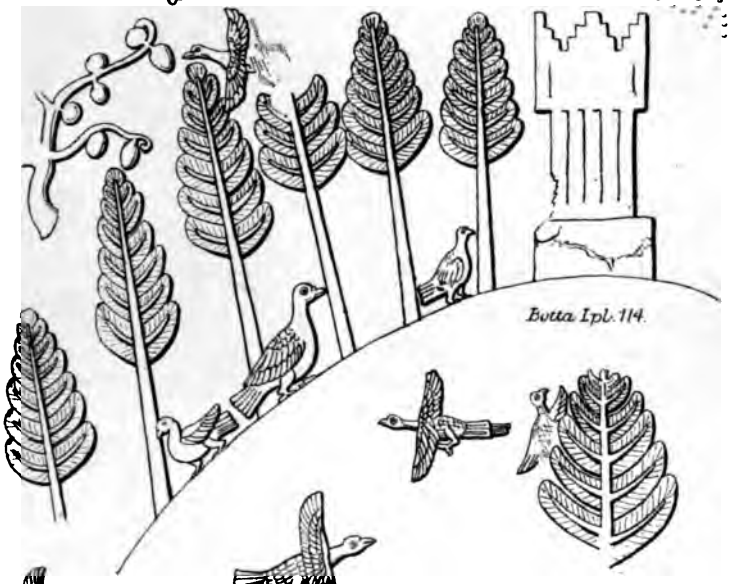
(*e.*) Another name, 𒁹𒌋𒄑 𒄑𒌋𒁹 𒁹 *sag-gus-u*, perhaps has reference to the cock's comb or crest; 𒁹𒌋𒄑 𒄑𒌋𒁹 is "the top of the head," and 𒁹 is given as having as one of its significations, a "peak"; the idea of elevation seems to be implied in the form of the character when turned up, 𒁹; 𒁹 or 𒁹 may be explained in one of its most general significations as "lord." The bird's name would read, "top of the head," or "head" + "lord": a suitable name for the proud cock, as he struts about with uplifted head—

"How high his highness holds his haughty head"!

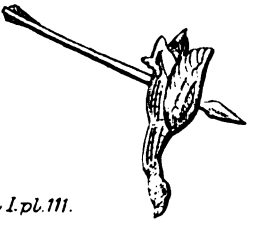
(*f.*) The *a-vu-se* has also as an equivalent the name 𒁹𒌋𒄑 𒁹𒌋𒄑 𒁹 *'e-na-nu*, to which reference has already been made. The cock is the "diviner" or "soothsayer" (עֹנֵן): as presaging coming events from the appearance of its viscera, or for other reasons. All these names occur in pl. 42, Vol. II, of W.A.I., and all have the D.P. of "food" (𒁹𒌋𒄑𒁹) before them.

(39.) The ostrich is one of the few birds whose figures occur on the monuments to which I have alluded. It was known to the Assyrians by the names of *śa-ka-tuv* (𒁹𒌋𒄑 𒁹𒌋𒄑 𒁹𒌋𒄑) *se-ip a-rik* (𒁹𒌋𒄑 𒁹𒌋𒄑 𒁹𒌋𒄑) and *gam-gam-mu* (𒁹 𒁹 𒁹), this latter name being borrowed from the Accadian GAM GAM (𒁹𒌋𒄑 𒁹𒌋𒄑). Another

[1] It is to be noted that we have, at present, no onomato-poetic name for a "cock," like our *cock-a-doodle-doo*, of which "cock" is simply an abbreviation; *cf.* "Soph. Frag.," 900, κοκκοβόας ὄρνις, ὁ αλεκτρυών, "the cock, the bird that cries *coc*"; but the *idea*, if not the actual *voice*, of the bird, is manifest in the word *a-vu-se*, just as the old English word *Hana* (= "Cock"), is to be compared with the Latin *canere*, the Sanskrit कण्, *kvaṇ*, "to sound." The Sanskrit *kukkuṭa* (कुक्कुट), "a cock," is clearly onomato-poetic.



Botta I pl. 114.



Botta I pl. 108.

Botta I. pl. 111.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate IX.

NAMEL ORIGINAL

Accadian name is GIR GID DA (), "the long-legged bird. *Sakatuv* may be compared with the Arabic صَقَعَ (*saka'*) "abiit, declivavit, deflexit a viâ recta," and may allude to the well-known habit of these birds always running in circles when hunted. GAM GAM is in the syllabaries (W.A.I., III, pl. 70, l. 48-49) compared with *gi-mil-lu* (גְּמַל "to recompense,") and *sikru*, "a reward (שָׂכָר). It is not easy to see the exact meaning of this expression as applied to the ostrich. Delitzsch thinks it to be synonymous with what is said of the stork (חֲסִידָה) "the pious bird." The Hebrews, it is known, regarded the ostrich as a cruel bird in neglecting its young, as they supposed, and the Arabs considered this bird as the emblem of stupidity. Still the Arabs used the word *na'ām* (نَعَام) as the name of the ostrich, although the verb from whence the name is derived always refers to what is pleasant and good. Whatever reasons there may be for these names, implying "benefit" or "good disposition," whether the benefit refers to that derived from man by the birds' capture, or to the supposed good the birds showed to each other, it is certain that they are names by which the ostrich was known; and with this knowledge I suppose we must be content.

(40.) W.A.I., II, pl. 37, No. 1, obv., l. 8, *si-li-in-gu*, *bu-ri-du*, compared with line 48, No. 2, obv., *az-ci-ku*, and *si-lik-ku* = Accad. NAM BIR NAM KHU.

The Accadian name clearly points to some bird of omen or destiny, and the *silingu* of the Assyrian column is, I think, also to be referred to an Accadian origin, viz., to the word *silik*, "propitious," beneficial. The name of *bu-ri-du* is explained in the Talmud as "a bird of a speckled colour," (בר אדא, בראדא, ברדא), "Vogel von gesprenkter Farbe," Arab. برد (see "Aruch Completum," Dr. Alex. Kohut, p. 172). Lewysohn ("Die Zool. des Talm.," p. 187) quotes Landau, who identifies this *barda'* with the "Snow Finch." The word *buridu* seems to point to some bird which is found in cold

snow-clad districts; *cf.* Arab. بَرَدَ, "frigidus fuit," بَرَدٌ, "grando," "hail"; or the name may refer to the hail-like spots such as occur on the plumage of the nutcracker (*Nucifraga cataractes*), which Lewysohn suggests as being perhaps the bird denoted. The Snow Finch (*Montifringilla alpicola*, Pall.), a species closely allied to *M. nivalis*, occurs on the Caucasus, and is a permanent inhabitant of the Elburz, whence Major St. John obtained specimens shot in the snow in the month of February. Flocks are found at an elevation of between 9,000 and 10,000 feet above the sea. Like the *M. nivalis*, this species is probably at times migratory, and would thus suit the requirement of the *buridu*, being "a bird of destiny" or migration.[1]

The Accadian equivalent of the *siliku* (*silingu*) or *buridu* is IL LUM BI KHU, a word which it is difficult to explain. The word *az-ci-ku* may be onomatopoetic. Nothing more definite can be said of the *buridu* than that it denotes a "speckled or pied bird of omen," which the Assyrian and Accadian names imply.

(41.) Obv. No. 1, l. 10, *dha-ab-bi-'u*, or *ca-cis na'ari*, admits of easy identity. The former name, *dhabbi'u*, is to be referred to the Hebrew טָבַע *dhâba'*, "to sink," "dip," "plunge," or "dive." With the latter word *ca-cis* (*na'ari*), "the *cacis* of the river," Delitzsch very aptly compares the Arabic مُقَوْقِس *mukavkis*, which Freytag ("Lex. Arab.," s.v. IV, p. 198) explains by "nomen avis collari præditæ, columba similis, albæ cum nigro mixtæ." This explanation, together with the idea of diving implied by the other name, *dhabbiu*, at once suggests the little Grebe (*Podiceps minor*) as the bird intended. This grebe is included in the list given by Blanford ("Zool. of Persia," p. 304) of the family of *Colymbidæ*, as occurring in the neighbourhood of the Caspian and other places. The *Podiceps minor* is an inhabitant of the Caspian, and also the

[1] The destruction caused by hailstones is an object of dread in many countries. In a fragment of a hymn to Marduk, we have *ina pi puridica mannu iparassid*, "in the face of thy hail who can escape"? (W.A.I., IV, 26, 45.) The snow-bunting, as inhabiting hail-visited districts, would thus naturally be regarded as a bird of omen.

Persian highlands. It is about the size of a turtle-dove, and in its winter plumage the adult bird has a patch of white with ash-brown markings on the chin. Other grebes, such as the crested species, *P. cristatus*, *P. nigricollis*, *P. auritus*, occur on the Caspian, on the Balúchistán coast, and on the Kázrún Lake, and the smaller species, as *P. auritus* and *P. nigricollis*, were probably included under the names of the *dhabiu* and *cacis na'ari*, *i.e.*, "the small diving bird of the rivers or water." The English name of *dabchick* or *didapper* = dive + diver or dapper, *i.e.*, "the double diver or dipper," from the perpetual diving habits of the bird, expresses the same idea as the Assyrian name of *dhabbiu*. Dr. Delitzsch suggests a "sea-gull" (eine Mövenart); but no sea-gull is known to dive, whilst the little grebe or dabchick fulfils all the requirements.

(42.) Obv., No. 1, l. 15, [illegible] *śu-ur-du-u*, [illegible] *ca-śu-śu*. There can be no doubt that these two bird-names are to be referred to that of the [illegible] *śur-du*, which occurs in the Accadian column of W.A.I., V, pl. 27, l. 48. Unfortunately, in this tablet the whole of the Assyrian portion is broken, and not a vestige of the Assyrian equivalents remain, whilst in the tablet in which the two Assyrian names of *śûrdû* and *caśuśu*, are preserved, only a fragment of the corresponding Accadian name is left. This remaining bit is [illegible], which is evidently the remains of the complete Accadian word in Vol. V, *loc. cit.* The [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible], are therefore the names of the same bird. The Accadian name [illegible], which may be read either *śur-du*, "might-making," or *cuś-du*, "rest-making," has been inadvertently read by the late Mr. G. Smith and by M. Lenormant as *ra-pa-kak klu*, "the rapakak bird," the parts of the name having been wrongly separated, as Dr. Delitzsch ("Assyrische Lesestücke," p. 31, 171) has already pointed out. The name of *śûrdû*, which occurs in the Assyrian column in pl. 37, No. 1, l. 15, is therefore evidently a loan word, and borrowed from the Accadian, and shows us, more-

over, that we must read the Accadian word as *śurdu*, and not as *cuś-du*. Prof. Delitzsch thinks that the Assyrian name *caśuśu* is a reduplicated form of the Hebrew כּוּס (*cûs*), which he identifies with the screech-owl, the Hebrew name being explained in the Talmud by the Aramaic word קָדְיָא, which, as we have seen, is probably that species of owl. Mr. Pinches, to whom I am indebted for valuable suggestions, and for copies from the tablets not yet published, tells me that he thinks he has found a tablet which seems to show that the Assyrians practised falconry, and that the bird used for that purpose is none other than the *śurdu* in question; so that the idea conveyed by the name of the bird, "which makes might," is very fitting for some of the larger falcons, which the Assyrians very probably employed as helping agents in their capture of winged, or possibly even running, game. This use of the *śurdu* would, of course, exclude all the owls, and point to some falcon, as, perhaps, the *Peregrine*, or one or other of allied species or varieties. The Assyrian *caśuśu* may be referred to the Heb. כָּסַס (allied to קָצַץ), "to divide," "distribute," or the Aramaic כְּסַס, "to eat," "masticate." From the idea of dividing by cutting came that of reckoning up or assigning a certain portion, hence the Aramaic כֶּסֶס, "a fixed or reckoned portion," "a share." The ancient art of hawking was practised for the sake of securing the prey, and little account was taken of the sport itself, as in later times of the noble art of falconry. It was the custom of ancient people, who employed kites or falcons to aid them in the capture of their game, to encourage the birds by always dividing a portion of the prey with them. In India, as we learn from Ctesias, foxes and hares were hunted by the use of birds of prey. It is probable that the Greeks derived from India and Thrace their first information concerning falconry. Aristotle expressly mentions certain parts of Thrace in which the people made use of rapacious birds in their fowling expeditions, and Aelian ("Nat. Hist.," ii, 42) tells us that when the Thracians catch any birds "they divide them with the hawks, by which means they render them faithful partners in fowling; if they did not give them a share of the booty they

would be deprived of their assistance." This custom of giving the falcon a portion of the prey killed seems to have been in general use, and the falconers of more modern days similarly used to share their booty with the birds. It would be hazardous, in the absence of positive proof, to assert that this custom of allowing the bird to share is implied in the name of *caśaśu;* but the ancient custom seems worthy of being mentioned. I think that some falcon is designated by the names which have passed under our consideration, and that it is probable that it was employed by the ancient inhabitants of Assyrian lands to aid them in the capture of winged or other game. In col. No. 2 the name of *śu-vur-du*—another Semitised form of the Accadian word—occurs as the equivalent of *caśuśu.*

(43.) Pl. 37, rev., l. 7, *khar-ba-ka-nu*, or *khar-bac-ca-a-nu.* These two forms of the same bird-name should be compared with some names which occur on pl. 40, 4, rev., ll. 24–26, where we meet with *tas-bal-luv*, or *khar-ba-ka-nu*, and *ta-kha-tsa-se-nu*, all of which seem to relate to the same bird, or to birds of prey of different allied species or similar habits. The word *tasballuv*, another form of *tasbaluv*, has been already considered. The *kharbacânu*, or the full form *kharbaccânu*, has an Accadian origin, and appears in the Assyrian column with the usual adjectival Semitic ending of *ânu.* Etymologically, the name is composed of (*khar*) "entrails" + (*pak* or *bak*), "a bird in flight," and (*ca*), "a mouth," and, I suppose, designates some eagle or other rapacious bird which accompanies battle-scenes, and feeds on the carcases of the slain. Figures of eagles carrying off the entrails of the dead occur on the monuments (see plate). The *takhatsasenu* designates the same bird of "the battle" fields. The names in the Accadian column are, unfortunately, lost, only fragments remaining. The character of ( ) opposite *kharbacânu*, probably denotes "a dead body" (*pagru*, Assyr., *bat*, Accad.), and refers to the habit above mentioned. Opposite the name of *kharbacânu* in pl. 40, 4, rev., l. 25, occur the

characters [illegible] (?) *sa-la* [*tu*] "spoil," perhaps referring to the same habits of these birds of prey. "Wheresoever the carcase is there will the eagles be gathered together."

(44.) Pl. 37, No. 1, rev., l. 12, [illegible] *a-vur-śa-nu;* this word is simply repeated in the other Assyrian column, and only a fragment ([illegible]) is left in the Accadian. I think it must be referred to the *ur-śa-nu* or *tâmsilu* already considered, "some kind of pigeon." I am inclined to think, with Norris ("Assyr. Dict.," p. 28), that *avurśanu* is an Assyrian form of an Accadian word, and that *urśanu* is to be similarly explained; that *a-vur-śa-nu* is the parent bird ([illegible] "father") of the *urśanu*, which the Assyrian *tâmsilu*, the Talmudic תַּרְסִילָא, explains as "a pigeon."

(45.) Of the [illegible] *it-ti-du* or [illegible] *ta-ti-du-tuv*, in pl. 37, No. 1, rev., l. 16, nothing at all certain can be known, and the question of identity must remain undecided.

(46.) Pl. 37, l. 67, [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible], *cu-ru-uc-cu*, *ca-rac-cu*, and *cu-ru-bu*. The three words are, perhaps, all onomato-poetic, and refer to some cawing bird.

(47.) L. 19. Of the [illegible] *ka-ku-u*, and [illegible] *tar-ma-zi-lu*, I have nothing to say, but that the former word is imitative; that the latter appears to be of Accadian origin; and that some "cawing bird" is denoted.

(48.) In pl. 37, No. 2, obv., we have a bilingual list of birds' names, which is nearly perfect, a great many of the Accadian names being preserved. In l. 28 we have [illegible] and [illegible]; the first character in the first name should, perhaps, be altered to [illegible], and the name read as *tir-ri-ta-ruv*, a reduplicated form. The second word is incomplete: perhaps the lost portion was [illegible] *istsur*, and the whole bird-name, *itstsur khal-zi*, "bird of the fortress.' From such uncertain data attempts at identification must be mere guess-work.

(49.) In line 32 occur the words *bur-ru-um-tav*, and *dhar-ru*, on the Assyrian columns, and [NAM] BIR DHAR KHU in the Accadian. These words admit of easy explanation; but the result is too indefinite for identification. The Assyrian *bu-rûm-tav* is the Hebrew בָּרַם, Arab. برم, "to twist two or more threads together"; hence בְּרוֹמִים *berômîm*, Arab. برم *barîm*, "variegated garments," as composed of two or more coloured threads. The Assyrian *dharru* is from the Accadian *dhar*, "variegated." We see therefore that some "bird of varied plumage," but whether of two or more colours, or of what colours, we are not informed, so that nothing more definite can be determined; but as we have the Accadian P. NAM BIR, denoting "multitude," I think it probable that the sand-grouse (*Pterocles*) is meant.

(50.) In line 33 we next meet with *bu-tsu*, and *its-isur khar-ri*; the latter means "the bird of the ravine" (חוּר, "to hollow out"). I can give no explanation of *butsu*. Delitzsch compares it with the Arabic باز *bāz*, "a falcon." The Accadian name [NAM] BIR UŚ KHU, awaits explanation, as the meaning of the character UŚ is unknown.

(51.) We arrive at something more definite and interesting in the next bird-name. In the names of *du-du* and *ib-bil-tuv*, represented by the Accadian NAM KHU, "destiny bird," we recognize the love-bird, or dove of Istar, the Assyrian Venus. The Assyrian *dudu* is the Hebrew דּוֹד *dôd* or דוּד *dûd*, "love," "to love," and *ibbil-tuv* is clearly the cooing or "mourning" bird, from אָבַל "to mourn," in allusion to the plaintive yet soothing notes of the turtle-dove and others of the same family of birds. The bird of destiny alludes probably to the migratory habits of the turtle-dove, and to its being sacred to Astarte. Other names of the dove which occur have been already considered.

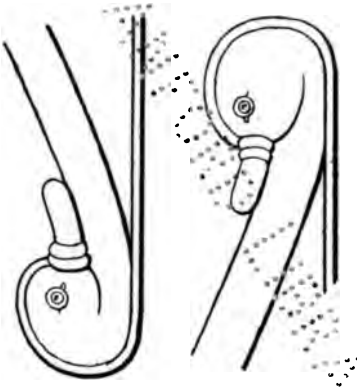
(52.) Line 38. Immediately after the royal bird of variegated plumage occurs the name [illegible] *cu-pi-tu*, having as its only other representative the Accadian [illegible] ŚU UN KUR SA NU KHU. The meaning of this latter word is unknown. The Assyrian may possibly mean the "bending" bird, from כָּפַף "to bend" or "bow down." This may be another name for the flamingo, whose curved bill is such that the bird is obliged to curve down its whole neck and to reverse the position of its bill in the water, in order to be able to feed; but this is mere conjecture, and further evidence is required for identification. The bending—even if the name has this meaning—would also suit the avocet (*Recurvirostra*), the curlew, etc.[1]

(53.) In line 41 we meet with [illegible] *its-tsur a-sa-gi*, which has as its equivalent the name already considered, viz., the [illegible] *di-ic-di-ic*, which two Assyrian names are equated with the Accadian [illegible] NAM BIR GIS U GIR KHU. The *dicdic*, as we have seen, is "the sparrow"; *its-tsur asagi* means "the bird of the thorn-bush"; the word *asaqu*, I think, must be referred to the Amharic ኧሶኬ *e-so-ke*, the Æth. ሦክ *śo-ke*, "spina"; v. Ludolf., "Lex. Amhar.," p. 58. I may here mention in passing that the Amharic name of the *Hyrax Syriacus* (the *Shâphan* of the Heb. Bible, "Coney" of our A.V.), is, according to Bruce, *Ashkoko*, so called in allusion "to the long herinaceous hairs which like small *thorns* grow upon its back." The Accadian name is made up of the following elements: GIS = "wood," [illegible] = "food, and GIR = "thorn," the whole denoting "a thorny tree which affords food." The bird, therefore, is the sparrow (*Passer salicarius*), which is known to frequent in large flocks hawthorn bushes and other berry-producing trees, and breeds always in *thorny* bushes. In W.A.I., V, 18. 6. the *dicdicku* has [illegible] *khu-ti-zu-qa* (?) *khu* as its equivalent in the Accadian column. I can give no explanation.

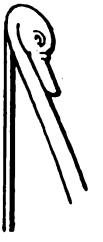
(54.) In the 43rd line one of the Assyrian columns is

[1] *Cf.* the Sanskrit *krauńcha*, "a curlew," from *krauńch*, "to curve."

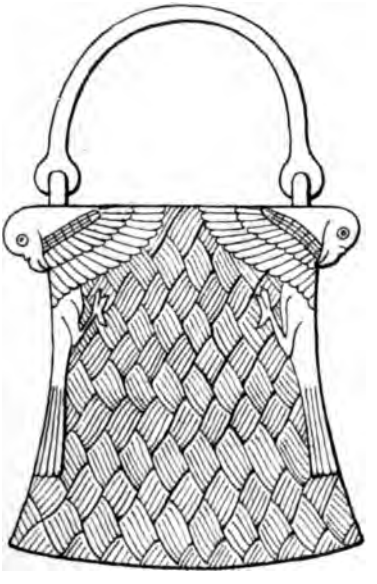
Weight Layard, I pl. 95a



Ends of Bows, Botta I pl. 159.



Ends of Bows.
Botta I. pl. 13.



Panier. Botta. pl. 162 enlarged
from Pl. 28.

Ends of Bows
Botta I pl. 105.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate X.

Wesselhöft & Digard, Sc. Lith.

MATERIAL UNAVAILABLE

shaded, and the reading of the word uncertain; we find here *da-lu-u* and *bal-lu-du.* The Accadian column has KHU ŚI RUM U KHU. The word *dalu* means "long" in Assyrian, and is to be compared with the Hebrew תָּלַע "to be long," or we may read *dhalu*, and refer the name to the root טָלָע, "to be spotted," or "variegated with black and white." It is not improbable that the full word in the shaded column was *bal-lu-tsi-tuv*, a name which, as has been already shown, perhaps denotes "the magpie." The idea of "the long" bird would have quite well suited the long-tailed *Pica caudata*, while the other reading is equally suitable. KHU ŚI in the Accadian column has been shown to signify "a prince," "governor," or "pilot." I know not the meaning of the remaining part of the word, but I think that a magpie is the long bird intended.[1]

(55.) As to the *za-ai-ku*, and *a-ra-bu* [*u*] of the 44th line, represented by the Accadian GIR GI LUM KHU, nothing more can be said than that the names together point to some "long-legged, black, screaming bird," *zaikhu* being apparently onomato-poetic; but I am unable to identify the bird.

(56.) In W.A.I., V, 27, 3, obv., l. 36, there occurs the single Accadian name of a bird called *lal-la-ri*; the tablet is fractured at this part, and there does not appear to have been an Assyrian equivalent expressed in that column. In W.A.I., II, 40, 34, the name *lal-la-ar-tuv* is equated with *śar-rad kip-ri*, "terror of the regions" ("Sen.," p. 20). In W.A.I., II, 25, 71, *lal-la-rù* is identified with *i-lu-a-li*, "high" (?); similarly in pl. 32, l. 18. In II, 5, 29, the same word, *la-la-ar-tuv*, occurs alone, the Accadian portion being broken, as the name of an insect, and again in the same plate, l. 16, where it equals (KHU RUB KHA MUNU), *i.e.*, "the bee."

[1] The magpie, as it flies athwart the observer, is eminently suggestive of length: "Such a length of tail behind"!

Again in V, 27, l. 8, where it is written [illegible], as the same insect. In Dr. Delitzsch's very valuable work, "Wo lag das Paradies"? p. 103, one of the peaks of Mount Amanus is mentioned as occurring in Salm. ob., 31 (Layard's "Inscriptions"), as Mount *Lal-la-ar*, which the Professor interprets "Honigberg (?)," *lallaru* being synonymous with *par nûbtu*, "Erzeugniss der Biene" = Assyr. *diśpu* and *matku*, "honey," "sweet." Thus it would seem that we have to deal with honey in the matter of the Accadian word *lallari*, and the investigation of the bird-name would lead us to some honey-eating or honey-insect-eating species. But what is our *lallari* or honey bird? Can it denote the bee-eater, *Merops apiaster*, which Blanford speaks of as abounding during the summer time in the Persian highlands, and which Dr. Ainsworth tells me is quite a feature in Mesopotamia? This bird, as its name imports, feeds on bees and other hymenopterous insects. In the "Annals and Magazine of Natural History," 1839, a traveller in Asia Minor, speaking of the habits of the bee-eater, says: "They utter a rich, warbling chirp when on the wing; they are often observed among the turpentine trees, from which bees collect much honey; and are sometimes attracted to the valleys by the numerous aviaries of the peasantry." At the Cape of Good Hope, according to Montague, it serves as a guide to the Hottentots by directing them to the honey which the bees store in the clefts of the rocks." Like some other birds, notably the Indicators amongst the *Cuculidæ*, the bee-eaters serve as guides to the natural honey stores in the rocks or trees; hence it would well merit the name of the honey-bird, and when we consider how precious a commodity honey was esteemed before the introduction of sugar, we can well understand that great attention would be given to those agents which served as a guide to its discovery. But this bird will not fulfil all the necessary conditions, because, as was seen above, the *lallari* is also called "Terror" of heaven, which probably implies some bird of prey. I would therefore suggest the honey buzzard (*Pernis apivorous*), one of the *Buteonidæ* represented in Mesopotamia and Elam. This is one of the Raptores, and, like the rest of the family, is far less majestic in appearance and less courageous in habits than

most of the Falconidæ; but it might merit the name of terror of heaven, perhaps, because it feeds on the combs of the bee and the contained larvæ, as well as on the bees and other hymenopterous insects.

(57.) Pea-fowl were probably known to the ancient Assyrians, and the word [illegible] (expressed ideographically by [illegible]), *urinnu*, has been translated a "peacock," and the plural, *urinni*, "pea-fowl." M. Lenormant has shown that *urinnu* is the name of the character [illegible]; but that some living creatures are also intended is shown by a passage in the inscription of Tiglath Pileser, W.A.I., I, 15, l. 57. This monarch speaks of himself as the descendant of Adar-pal-esir *sa nu-ba-lu-śu ci-ma u-ri-in-ni eli mâ-ti-su su-par-ru-ru*," "who destroyed his enemies (?) like *urinni* over the country." The passage is a difficult one, but in the absence of the D.P. or D.S. for "birds, it is not certain that any kind of birds are meant. Norris, p. 297, for *varini* or *rarinni*, translates "Peacocks," and compares the Heb. רְנָנִים, "screaming birds." I should state that pea-fowl, though they may have been known to the Assyrians, and kept in their aviaries or ornamental gardens, are very unlikely birds to occur in a wild state—a condition required by the Assyrian monarch's words—in any part of the countries known to them. The genus *Pavo* is found from the Himalayas to Ceylon, in Siam, south-west China and Java, but not so far north and west as Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries.

It now only remains for me to notice the different names of birds' nests, eggs, and young, which we find in the texts or records: but before I do this I have a few remarks to make on the determinative prefixes or affixes which occur. The character [illegible], which has the phonetic values of *khu* and *pak* —the former signifying "bird" in a general sense, the latter referring to something which pertains to birds, as *e.g.*, their flight,[1]—is in the Accadian lists of birds always present as a determinative affix; see W.A.I., II, 27; V, 27. In the

[1] See W.A.I., V, 29, 63, *'e-śi-ru sa itstúr*, "the direct flight of birds"; Haupt, "Accad. and Sumer. Keilschrif.," IV, p. 172.

Assyrian lists this determinative does not occur. In the Accadian texts the determinative *khu* is always present. In the Assyrian texts, historical or other, the Accadian monogram 𒁹𒄭𒁹 is of far more frequent occurrence than the Assyrian full phonetic form of 𒁹𒄩𒄩𒄩

Delitzsch that the scribe is in error. These exceptions occur in W.A.I., II, 24, 14, 15, in a list which contains the names of dog, deer, serpents, &c.; the names of two insects are given, one, *'e-ri-bu*, "a locust," the other "*zir-zir-bu*," which the Accadian tells us is a "very little insect," *i.e.*, "the ant." Instead of the usual D.P., 𒁹𒄭𒁹 𒀀𒁹 KHU BIR, of an insect, the scribe has written 𒁹𒄭𒁹𒀭𒁹 𒀀𒁹 NAM BIR, the D.P. of a bird. What is the real import of these two determinatives? Before what kinds is the bird-D.P. placed, and why is it placed before these and not before others? Unfortunately, in two of the tablets on plate 37, W.A.I., Vol. II, the Accadian word is in every single instance lost, with the exception of a few fragments of character, though the usual bird affix 𒁹𒄭𒁹 is in almost every instance preserved. In the larger tablet, No. 2 (same plate), out of about forty-five words, not more than twenty-two are complete. In W.A.I., V, 27, we meet with nineteen birds' names with the Accadian preserved. In this tablet the D.P. NAM BIR does not once occur. Of the twenty-two complete Accadian names on plate 37, only four have the D.P. complete; these are the *itstsur cîśi*, "bird of the papyrus"; *itstsur asagi* = *dîddîc*, the *buridu* or *silikku*, and the *atân na'ri* or *abbûnnu;* but from remains of characters in two other places (lines 32, 33), it is clear that both the *burrûmtu* or *dharru* have, and the *butsu* or *itstsur kharri* had, this prefix NAM BIR in the corresponding Accadian columns. The compound ideograph 𒁹𒄭𒁹𒀭𒁹 𒀀𒁹 resolves itself into the two elements of 𒁹𒄭𒁹𒀭𒁹 and 𒀀𒁹; the first character denotes abstract nouns in Accadian, as well as "destiny"; the second "hosts," "multitudes," &c. Sometimes the first character stands alone for some bird, as for the swallow (*śinun tuv*) in the Deluge Tablet. It is clear that the composite character is not synonymous with its first element, because sometimes the full compound character occurs with its latter element in the same bird-name. Thus we have NAM BIR NAM KHU (l. 48) for the *silikku*. I think that the composite prefix denotes, and originally had special, if not exclusive, reference to, birds which associate, either habitually, or at certain times, as in their migrations, in large numbers, though this distinction is

C6

by no means always observed. We have, therefore, the idea of abstraction in some sense and degree preserved in NAM as a "flock," bird-ship, if I may coin a word, and that of multitudes in the other component part, viz., BIR. If we apply this test to the instances given above, we find—supposing that the identifications are correct—that the idea of birds congregating suits those kinds which those names seem to point out, but is more applicable to some kinds than to others. The sparrow is a familiar instance; the pelicans at times associate in enormous numbers, covering pieces of water nearly a mile square; the sand-grouse, perhaps denoted by the congregating bird of chequered plumage (*burrûmtu*) are noted for their numbers. And to a considerable extent this is true of the mountain finch and the nut-cracker (*buridu*), and fairly suits the habits of the warbling birds of the reeds. In Sennacherib (Smith's Tr., p. 119) we have *cima tibût a-ri-bi ma-ha-di*, "like an invasion of many ravens"; the name of the bird being written phonetically, the numbers are expressed by a definite adjective. In Assurbanipal (Smith's Tr., p. 103), we have *cima tibût* (NAM BIR) [illegible], "like an invasion of ravens"; but the idea of multitudes is here expressed by the meaning of the *ideograph*, and requires not a separate expletive adjective. I by no means mean to assert that this is an invariable rule; but I think that where there is this D.P. attached to any bird-name, there is reasonable probability that the identification should be sought in some species of bird of congregating habits. It is true that in W.A.I., V, 27, 3 obv., this D.P. is absent in two instances where we should have expected it to occur, viz., in the starling ("little shepherd bird") and in the locust bird (KHU RUB KHU), which sometimes darkens the air by its multitudes; but the absence of this D.P. in certain instances does not affect the general rule. Its presence may denote birds that associate, but its absence from a bird-name does not thereby of necessity imply a negative.

The character [illegible] NAM, which sometimes, irrespective of the D.P. NAM BIR, enters into the composition of a name, implies the idea of "destiny," either as relates to the destined periodical returns of the migratory birds, or to some notion

of an augural or sacred nature held with regard to certain kinds. The swallow is a NAM KHU, "destiny bird," by reason of its migrations; the turtle-dove is a NAM KHU, as being sacred to Astarte. But this idea is not always expressed, for in many migratory birds, the indicating character is not expressed, nor should its absence be understood of necessity to imply a negative. I may mention that the periodic migration of birds is sometimes referred to in the historical records: thus Esarhaddon (W.A.I., I, 46, col. v, l. 8) speaks of the land of Patusarra as a district whence the birds [illegible] return, "in the country of Media, afar off."

To what extent, in what manner, and on what occasion the Assyrians and Accadians practised augury, I believe we have no means of determining. Notions of good or ill luck seem to be implied in some of the cuneiform characters, thus [illegible] *pacac*, Accad.; *sumelu*, Assyr.; "the left hand," "the left," is a compound of "bird" + "making." The character [illegible] *śa* = *nabū*, "to proclaim," is made up of "bird" + "to settle," [illegible] *gab* = *sumelu*, "left hand," seems to consist of "bird" + "foot," or "bird" + "good fortune" ([illegible] = [illegible] = *gimillu*). The idea of augury seems to be implied in the flight of birds to the left hand, or other modes of "settling down," as amongst the Romans.[1]

The name of a bird's nest is in Assyrian *kînnu*, frequent in the inscriptions; in Accadian it is written *u-ci-śî-ga* ([illegible]), an instance of the happy mode of writing words so as to harmonise with their meaning so frequent among the Accadians: for [illegible] = "food," [illegible] "place," and [illegible] = "giving," *i.e.*, "the place where food is given." Another Accadian word for a "nest," or rather a "pigeon hole," is [illegible] *es* / *ab-lal*, with which the Assyrian [illegible] *a-pa-tu* is identical; *apatu* is to be referred to the Heb. פָּתַח or פָּתַח, "to open." All these

[1] *Cf.* Cicero, "Div.," I, 39, "Quid Augur, cur a dextrâ corvus, a sinistrâ cornix faciat ratum"?

four names for "a nest" or "a pigeon hole" may be seen together in W.A.I., IV, 27, l. 14–18. Among other dreadful things caused by evil demons, they drove pigeons from the dove-cot, and swallows from their nests. In Accadian—

Tû khu ab-lal-bi- ta ba-da-an-dib-dib-bi- ne
The pigeon from within its hole they cause to seize.

Nam-bir id - pur -bi- ta ba-ra-dul-du- ne
The bird on its wings they cause to ascend.

nam-khu u - ci - śi - ga -bi- ta ba-ra-an-ri-
The swallow from its nest they cause to mount

ri - e - ne
aloft.

The Assyrian version is very similar; the word for pigeon is *śummatu,* and from the mention of the holes of the dove-cot, it is evident that this bird was early domesticated among the Semites, contrary to the opinion of Victor Heyn, who maintain a comparatively recent culture (see "Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere," pp. 296, 297). The *śummatu,* or *tû* (*Te* Sumerian) of the Deluge Tablet, is evidently the same bird, and doubtless a domesticated pigeon. The Accadian name of $\left\{\begin{matrix} ab \\ es\text{-}lal \end{matrix}\right.$, "house" + "filling," is ideographically expressed by , which is a picture of the young (*'a* = *son* + *lal* = "to fill") inside the enclosure or nest ; but as the hole of the dove-cote is the nest where it rears its young as well as its general home, the same word and the same monogram express both; so that I think the *uciśîga* is the general name for any bird's nest, while the *eslal* is the pigeon's nest or home. A difference between the *uciśîga* of the swallow and the *es-lal* of the pigeon is, at all events, maintained in

from ornament, Layard. I. pl. 47.

from ornament, Layard I. pl. 43.

Cylinder, Cabinet Royal de la Haye.
Gazette Archeologique 1880 p. 250.

Cylinder; Biblioth. Nat. Paris.
Gazette Arch. 1880. p. 255.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS Plate XI

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the interlinear Assyrian version, the former Accadian word being represented by *kinnu*, and the latter by *apatu*, "an opening."

A bird's egg is *bi-e-tsu* (𒁹 𒁺𒌋𒌋 𒀀𒄭𒁕) in Assyrian, with which the Heb. בֵּיצָה, Arab. بَيْضَة, is to be compared; it is generally referred to Heb. בּוּץ, Arab. بَاضَ, "to be white." The Assyrian word is equated with the Accadian words *sag-giś-ra* (𒊩𒌋𒄩𒄠 𒁺𒌋 𒊩𒌋𒌋); see W.A.I., V, 18, 19; and with another word, *tur* (𒁹𒁹𒁹 = *tarbitsu*, "rest" or "eclipse"), in line 10. But the true Accadian word for an egg is 𒁺𒌋 𒄩𒄠𒌋 𒁺𒌋𒌋𒌋 (SU KUR SU NE TU?) and is definitely defined by the corresponding Assyrian fully expressed, as *bîtsu sa itstsuri*, "the egg of a bird" (l. 11). Perhaps the Assyrian word ought to be referred to the Heb. בָּצַע, "to break" (forth), as it is compared to an Accadian word denoting "an eclipse." I can throw no light on the meaning of the long Accadian ideograph for an egg. *Saggiśra* is equated with some other Assyrian words, and its meaning is obscure.

The young of birds are mentioned under the names of *na-akh-tu* (𒀭𒄩𒁹 𒄩𒄠𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒁹), *ni-ip-tśu* (𒉡𒁹𒌋𒌋 𒀀𒄭𒁕), *'abal itstsuri* (𒁺𒁀𒌋 𒄩𒄠𒌋) W.A.I., II, 37, rev. l. 11. The first word is, perhaps, to be compared with the Heb. אַחֲוָה *akhavah*, "brotherhood" or a "brood"; *nîptsu* may be referred to פָּצַע, "to break" (forth); *cf. bîtsu*, "egg," above; *'abal*, expressed by the Accadian word 𒁺𒁀𒌋, is the ordinary Assyrian for "a son." The following also occur as the names of young birds, viz., *admu* (𒁺𒌋𒁀𒁹), and *lidânu* (𒀭𒁺𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒁹). For *admu* compare אָדָם, "a man" = *maru*, "young." The Accadian name for a "brood" is 𒁺𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒁹 LU GIL, for which 𒁺 𒁹 𒄩𒄠𒁹 *iś-khap-pu* is the equivalent (II, W.A.I., 2, Syll. 329). *Iśkhappu* is aptly compared by Delitzsch with the Arabic سَخْف, "small," "weak"; *cf.* also سَخْف, "fissus," "ruptus fuit (uter)." Esarhaddon calls Samas-ibni, king of

Bit-Dakkurri, *iśkhappu khabbilu* (W.A.I., I, 45, col. 2, l. 45), "a wicked young fool,[1] who did not reverence the memory of the gods." He seems to have been a sort of lean and hungry Cassius of his day.

Of the following names of birds I can give no opinion as to their meaning:—

Khu śi-śi-in-ni (*śisinni*)		W.A.I., III, 15, col. 1, l. 65.
Khu śu-śu-di (*śuśudi*)		Sen., p. 126.
its-tsu-ri śu-śu-di „		Sen., p. 132.

In the former case some bold rapacious bird is denoted, in the latter some timid kind.

The following occur in W.A.I., V, 27:—

	Accadian	=	Assyrian.
	„	=	„
	„	[Tablet broken.]	
	„	„	
	„	„	

You see how much of uncertainty attaches to the real meaning of several of the names of the Assyrian birds, whether as shown on the monuments or as they occur in the records. Possibly further materials and a more close study may result in more satisfactory results. I shall be only too glad for any suggestions that may be made at any time that may tend to throw more light on a confessedly difficult subject. In these and kindred studies, *one only desire* should animate the student, and that is to get at the truth, at simple facts, if possible; and every step made in this direction, or any knowledge acquired, however small, is of *some* value; and the step made is one in the right direction. I cannot conclude without expressing my best thanks to my friend Mr. Rylands, to whom you, as well as myself, are indebted for the bird-life diagrams which have helped me to

[1] "Weak of intellect" is one of the chief meanings of the Arabic word (see Freytag, s. v.).

illustrate this paper. I also express my gratitude to Mr. Sayce, who, as always, has helped me much, and to Mr. Pinches. We wait only for more, and more variable material from Mesopotamia, for further progress in Assyrian studies. Thanks to the genius of Sayce, Pinches, Lenormant, Schrader, Delitzsch, Haupt, Lotz, Hommel, and others, whose critical skill, combined with the most praiseworthy and cautious system, is conspicuous, real lasting difficulties can hardly be expected to occur which their efforts will not be able to surmount. May ever-increasing success long inspire future researches and achieve noble results!

Additional Remarks.

Note on the character [illegible], *and on the Bird* [illegible].

Since writing on the bird denoted in the Accadian Column by the sign [illegible], I have discovered that Mr. Boscawen ("Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. VI, Part 1, page 276) insists strongly on the original meaning of the character [illegible] as denoting not the ordinary solar light, but the lightning or thunderbolt, as shown by the hieroglyphic picture of this sign as it appears in Chaldean signet-rings. This idea of fire being produced by boring into wood, is, as Mr. Boscawen has admirably shown, expressed by the ideographs of this element, [illegible], and [illegible]; the first part of the compound character [illegible] intimates that "wood" has something to do with the fire, the second sign exhibits pictorially in its oldest form the actual operation of the fire-stick, as I have pointed out in a previous paper ("Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. VI, p. 466), and also intimates the same idea in one of the meanings of the sign *cararu*, "to revolve"; while the fifth month of the Accadian calendar, [illegible] *ne-ne-gar*, "fire makes fire," was under the patronage of the deity *Nin-gis-zi-da*, "Lord of the wood of life." The woodpecker by boring was supposed to

be a producer of fire. The birds to which the lightning-cloud is compared in ancient folk-lore may be an eagle or other rapacious bird, a woodpecker or a red-breast, according as some peculiarity in the bird's habits, form or colour, suggested some similarity to the lightning-cloud. Thus the high-soaring and swift rapacious eagle represents the terrific and destructive thunder-cloud, the boring woodpecker the fire which the cloud contains and which it was supposed to create, while the mere red breast of the harmless robin suggested by its colour the idea of fire. In the historical accounts of the wars of the Assyrian kings, it was very natural and in accord with their martial spirit, for them to relate how their warriors darted upon the enemy "like a divine *Zu* bird." The eagle is doubtless the *Zu* bird here; but I do not think that the *Zu* bird is to be restricted to the eagle. The *Zu*-god of the Chaldean legend, who dwelt in the lower part of the forest, and who for stealing the tablets of destiny was changed into the divine storm bird, may perhaps be the woodpecker, the antetype of the Hellenic *Phoroneus*, the Latin *Picus feronius*. Thus we seem to have the main features of the Promethian story in the Chaldean legend. So far as the Chaldean and Hellenic myth run parallel, Lugalturda ("powerful king") represents Prometheus, the destiny tablets are the fire (divine knowledge) from heaven, and the bird into which the fire-stealing god is changed is the wood-boring, fire-producing woodpecker, or the *Avis incendaria*, to which the lightning-cloud is compared.

Note on Augury by the Assyrians.

It is very probable that the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia and Elam practised augury to a considerable extent. In W.A.I., III, 52, there is a catalogue naming various subjects which were possessed by the royal libraries of Babylonia; among other matters there is mention of one relating to omens to be derived from the appearance, flight, and cries of birds. The passage is obscure. On my referring to my friend Mr. Sayce, he gives me such an explanation of certain words, as to induce me to suggest what appears to me to be near the meaning, and what may prove to be the clue to the more

complete understanding of the whole passage, which runs as follows:—

W.A.I. III, Plate 52.

28. itstsur same a-khu-u sa ci-i simta

D.P. mu-lu sapta zak-na-at

29. ca-bu-un-na-at eli sepi-su zak-ap

izu-zu ip-tu-u-va

30. i-na ali u na-me-e-su innamar pi-su

iptu-va pani-su a-tsa-a-ni

31. nun tsutsi a-khu-u sa ci-i itstsur same

ditto sepi-su lu ka-an dup-pi

32. lu cap-pi itstsuri imna u sumeli za-bi-ib

pi-su ipta-va lisan-su

33. ina .. mu-ru-da-a sa-kal

"Bird of heaven screaming, which, according to the destiny of man in lip is old, the *cabûnnat* (?) over its feet, the stake (which) one has fixed it has opened; and in the city and its canals is seen, its mouth it has opened, and its face comes forth (is an omen).

Fish of the marsh (frog) crying, which like "bird of heaven screaming, &c., over its feet," whether on his reed of the tablet (papyrus), or in the claw of the bird (it be seen); whether on the right hand or on the left it croak, its mouth it opens, and its tongue in a balance (?) is weighed" (is an omen).

"The screaming bird of heaven, which, according to the destiny of man, in its beak grows old," may possibly denote the eagle; and I think there is an allusion to the old fable mentioned by Aristotle ("Hist. Anim.," IX, 22, 4), that when eagles grow old, the beaks become crooked, so that they die of famine; "that this bird, as the story goes (ἐπιλέγεται δέ τις καὶ μῦθος), was once a man, and that it suffered this calamity from its inhospitality to a guest." One or other, or both, of the mandibles of some birds occasionally grow as to cross one another, and render them unable to feed. This is also alluded to by Pliny and other writers: the metamorphosis of men into eagles was a current myth. The general meaning may be this: if an old eagle with its abnormally twisted beak escape from its perch, or from its cage, by removing one of the stakes where it was confined, and appear in the city and its canals, uttering shrieks: this is an omen. Or the passage may be better translated thus: "Bird of heaven which like mankind has a beard on (its) chin, (and) is bound over its feet, &c"; *zaknât* and *cabûnnat* being regarded as permansive forms (זקן and כבן). Reference is, I think, made to the "bearded vulture" (*Gypaëtus barbatus*), conspicuous for its black beard and bright red eyes, whose aspect when irritated, said to be "perfectly diabolical," is likely to have made it a bird of omen. The expression, "bound over its feet," may well refer to the feathered tarsi, also conspicuous in this bird.

If a frog,[1] similarly with the old crooked-beaked screaming eagle, &c., were heard to croak among the papyrus reeds, or seen in the claw of a bird, whether it croaked on the right hand or the left of the observer: this is also an omen.

The "crying" (*akhû*) (אַחָה) of the frog may be literally illustrated by a remark made by Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," XI, 65),

[1] This is Mr. Sayce's happy interpretation of the *nun tsutsi*, "fish of the marsh."

who says that the male frogs, at the season when they croaked, were called *ololygones.* (*See also* Aristot., "Hist. Anim.," IV, 9, 6, *τὴν ὀλολυγόνα ποιεῖ.*) The passage about "vibrating its tongue" is not clear; but it may refer to a belief in the *modus operandi* in croaking. Pliny says that the frog sinks the lower lip to the surface of the water, takes a small quantity into the mouth ("libramentum modicæ aquæ"), and then by quavering with the tongue ("palpitante linguâ"), produces the croaking sound.

There seems to be much similarity in these two passages between the Assyrian tablets and some Greek and Latin authors. Now, Pliny specially mentions the Magi as having discoursed about frogs ("Nat. Hist.," XXXII, 18), and we know that Pliny borrowed considerably from Democritus, who himself visited Babylonia. It is probable that a good deal of the popular beliefs among the Greeks and Romans on matters relating to animals and plants or other subjects, found its way to Greece and Rome from this source. Democritus had been a great traveller, and occupied himself much in natural history and philosophical speculations; nay, according to Diogenes Laertius, he had been a pupil of some of the Magi and Chaldeans, from whom he learned the principles of astronomy and theology. It is a great pity that his works have not been preserved to us.

Postscript.

The chief difficulty which still makes me hesitate in not accepting the explanation so well advocated by Dr. Lotz (*Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I*, Leipsig, 1880), that the animal denoted by the Accadian name of *amśi* is none other than the elephant, lies in the fact that the *skins* (𒁹𒌋𒌋 *śu*) of the *amśi* are sometimes mentioned, together with the teeth, as articles of value, even as tribute offerings among such things as precious stones, gold, silver, &c. See Senacherib, Smith's "History," p. 64, where we read of "*śu* (skins) of *amśi*, *ca* (teeth or horns) of *amśi*," as forming

part of a great treasure; also in Esarhaddon's records (W.A.I., I, pl. 45, l. 20), where the skins are mentioned among the treasures of the palace of Abdimilcutti, king of Sidon. The skins of the *amśi* were taken home from his hunting expeditions by Tiglathpileser I, and appear to have held a high place in the estimation of the Assyrian monarchs. One naturally inquired on what account elephants' hides were so much prized. Again, the scribe who, in his records on the Broken Obelisk (W.A.I., I, pl. 28), gives an account of one of Tiglathpileser's hunting excursions, states that the *amśi* were killed by the king's bow; no mention is made of any other destructive weapon; and as some auxiliary methods of capture must have been employed in the destruction of a thick-skinned elephant, one naturally looks for some hint of the same; still, I do not consider that this point contains any real difficulty, because some auxiliary weapon might have been employed, though not definitely mentioned, the king or the scribe caring merely to record the destruction of the animals, in which the strong bows of the Assyrians formed the chief implement.[1]

[1] Strabo ("Geogr.," XIV, 4, 10), Diodorus (III, cap. 27), and Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," VIII, 8) are careful to mention the various modes of capturing wild elephants as practised by the Elephantophagi or "elephant eaters" of the Arabian Gulf. Stealthily the hunters would approach the animals, and, unperceived, hamstring them (*νευροκοποῦσι*) by a sharp sword-stroke; or the arrows were dipped in the poison of serpents. According to Diodorus, the hunters hide near a tree, and as the elephant passes, he seizes it by the tail, and with his own feet he clasps the animal's thighs; then with a small sharp axe, which is fixed on his shoulder, he hacks away at the animal's leg with wonderful adroitness and activity. The elephant thus wounded either falls down or runs away as fast as he is able, the pursuer following and still hacking away at the poor creature's leg; at length completely disabled, he falls, and the Ethiopian hunters run in crowds, and horrible to narrate, "cutting off collops of the flesh while the animal is still alive (*καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τέμνοντες τὰς σαρκας ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθεν μερῶν*), they feast merrily." (III, 26; ed. Dindorf.) The bows, according to Strabo (*loc. cit.*) and Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," *loc. cit.*), the elephant hunters used were of enormous strength; were fixed in the ground at intervals in places frequented by the animals; the bows were kept steady by young men remarkable for their strength; while others, exerting themselves to the utmost, would bend them and shoot and wound the elephants as they passed. In the battles of the Romans against Pyrrhus, it was found an easy thing to cut off the trunks of the elephants with a sharp sword, and they would soon bleed to death (Pliny, "Nat. Hist.," viii, 7). It is interesting to note that this was the method employed in time of the Egyptian king Men-kheper-ra, or Thothmes III, "the Alexander the Great of Egyptian history."

ASSYRIAN BIRDS. Plate XII.

from Khorsabad. Place Ninive &c pl. 30.
from decoration of Wall.

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What use did the Assyrians make of the hides of the elephants? Could they have been made into vessels for holding water, or for the covering of tents or houses? The natives of South Africa to this day use the inner and thin skin of the elephant for holding water. Were they ever used in the making of their ships, and be sometimes the *masaci gabrie*, "the hardened skins" (Hommel conjectures כבש, "a sheep"), used for transport? Were they made into bucklers as Pliny states was done with elephant hides, which were valued as being quite impenetrable? Hecatæus, an early distinguished Greek historian (*circa* B.C. 520), says ("Hecatæi Milesii Fragmenta," ed. Klausen, p. 249) that the people of Cerne (an island off the West Coast of Africa, and the great emporium of the Carthaginian trade with Western Africa) trafficked with the Ethiopians, and got from them in exchange for their commodities "the skins of stags, lions and leopards, together with the hides and tusks of elephants (πωλοῦσι δε . . . . . πρός δέρματα ἐλεφάντων μετ' ὀδόντων). Here we have literally in juxtaposition the *śu* and *ca amśi* of the Assyrian records; the hides of the elephants were probably prized by the Assyrians, who employed them for some useful purpose or other.

Although the *ca amśi* are frequently mentioned in the records as the tusks of the elephant, either as ivory obtained by them as prize booty from conquered peoples, or (once) as chase-spoil in Tiglathpileser's expedition;[1] the animals themselves are rarely alluded to. The only Assyrian monarch who, so far as we know, has left it on record that he hunted the *amśi*, is Tiglathpileser I (*circa* B.C. 1120–1100). He states that he killed ten fine *amśi* in the neighbourhood of Kharran

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The account is given by the captain Amenemhib, who served in the monarch's campaigns; he says: "Again [I admired] another extraordinary deed which the lord of the country performed in the neighbourhood of Ni. He hunted one hundred and twenty elephants for the sake of their tusks on [his chariot (?)]. I encountered the greatest among them, which attacked his holiness. I cut through his trunk. Being still alive [he pursued me]; then I went into the water between two rocks." (Brugsch's "Egypt under the Pharaohs," I, p. 306; Murray, 1881.) The word rendered "trunk" is in the original *ṭet*, "a hand."

[1] Dr. Lotz has omitted to notice this fact. He says that the *ka amśi* are never alluded to at all as chase-booty (pp. 160, 161).

and by the banks of the Chabur, *i.e.*, somewhere between the Tigris and Euphrates, a district which was doubtless well wooded and watered, suitable for the abode of elephants.

Perhaps Dr. Lotz is correct in referring both *ka* and *ca amśi* to the product of the elephant, and ivory is intended, but that the horns of the *rimu*, or wild bull, were also used and prized by the Assyrians can admit of no doubt. Horn is a substance which is now, and always has been, valued; it is capable, like ivory, of being wrought into various useful articles, such as drinking cups, trumpets, lanterns, &c., or for inlaying wood and other materials. Both the skins and horns of the *am* or *rîmu*, which animals the Assyrians killed, and depicted on the monuments, are frequently mentioned as being of sufficient value to carry home to Nineveh. Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," XVI, 43) tells us in his chapter on veneering ("De Lignis Sectilibus"), that the horns of animals were often stained with various colours, and cut into sections for decorating wood, as well as ivory, and that, "later mankind sought materials from the sea, and tortoise-shell" (*testudo*) "was used." Homer ("Odys.," xix, 563) speaks of doors (*πύλαι*) made of polished horn (*ξεστῶν κεράων*), through which true dreams came, while the dreams which came through the sawn ivory (*διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος*) proved false. This is a sufficient reply to Dr. Oppert ("Rec. Past." p. 34, note), who says that the *ka amśi* cannot possibly be bull's horn, because such a material "could never occupy a prominent place in the construction of palaces." When we read of "ivory palaces," which ancient monarchs erected, whether in Assyria or in Judæa, one can only understand by the expression that ivory was extensively used for decorating purposes. Ivory, being a hard and enduring substance, has survived to tell the story of its value in the articles that have been brought to light from the excavations at Koyunjik; horn, whether in the substance of bull's horn, tortoise-shell, claws, nails, whalebone, &c., having a composition intermediate between albumen and gelatine, and containing very small quantities of earthy matter, is perishable, and cannot exist as a long-buried material to tell the story of its uses, which, as I have said, are known to be manifold and various.

The Accadian ideograph , which, as we have seen, must represent the "*teeth*" or "tusks" of the elephant, denotes the "*horns*" of the *rîmu* or wild ox. In connection with the animal called *nakhiru* which Tiglathpileser killed in the Mediterranean Sea, the *ka* must signify "teeth," probably those of a grampus or other cetacean. It was a question discussed amongst the ancients whether it was correct to call the tusks of the elephant by the name of horns or teeth. "Juba," says Pliny (VIII, 8), "called them horns, but by Herodotus, a much older writer, as well as more appropriately, by general usage they were called teeth"; and these latter he remarks are the only part of an elephant which men are anxious to procure. See on the question whether tusks should be called horns or teeth, Ælian ("Nat. Anim.," iv, 31; Pausanias, v, 12; Juba ap. Philostr., "Vit. App. ii," 13, p. 92; Oppian, Cyneg., ii, 491, and a much later writer, Philes of Ephesus (A.D. 14th century), "Carm. Gr.," viii, 87; Camus "Notes on Aristot. Hist. Anim.," p. 298, note. The linear Babylonian forms of the Accadian ideograph would seem to show that the original picture was "a mouth with teeth," and most of the meanings of this sign imply a reference to the mouth. The character (*śi*) appears to have been a picture of the "horn of an ox"; but in time this picture origin was lost, and *ca* and *śi* were used indiscriminately for horns or teeth; the former sign being employed to denote almost any projecting body, like the Greek κερας.

With respect to the meaning of the word *śu-u-śu*, which occurs in one of the epigraphs of the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser, I desire to make a few remarks. Dr. Lotz believes that this word is the name of the elephant, being the Assyrian representative of the Accadian *amśi*. I confess I fail to be convinced by his arguments. It is a curious fact that the only instance of occurrence of the word *śûśu* in the Assyrian record is to be found in the epigraph of the Black Obelisk. The employment of this word by Assyriologists to represent the Accadian ideograph () for "a horse" is purely conventional, and

there is not the slightest authority for it, as Delitzsch and Hommel have remarked; and we now know that *sisu* was the ordinary Assyrian name of the horse. Dr. Lotz thinks that the Assyrians called the elephant by the name of *śûśu*, and that the Hebrews in later times applied the same name *śuś* (סוּס) to the horse: and he very appositely instances the Gothic *albandus*, the H. G. *olbanta*, and the M. G. *olbente*, which originally applied to an elephant, afterwards signified a camel. "Dwelling in a land which produced no elephant, the Canaanitish people forgot the appearance of the beast which their forefathers had known under the name of *śuś*, and when they employed the word they associated it merely with some indefinite form, perhaps of some large and strong beast, which was used as a riding animal in peace or war, as well as for draught purposes." This is quite probable, and I will further illustrate Dr. Lotz's instance of the employment of the name of *one* animal to designate *another*, by the old Cornish word *caurmarch*, a camel; literally = "the mighty horse," from *caur*, "a giant" and *march*, "a horse." The camel being employed as a beast of burden like the horse, "a beast without equals" (*Origo Mundi*, 124), came to be called by the same name.

Does the word *śuśu* denote the elephant? Some of the names of the animals on the Black Obelisk still remain to exercise the ingenuity of philological interpreters. I admit with Dr. Lotz that the names of the figured animals follow the order of the animals themselves; but I entirely fail to see "that each name is placed directly under its corresponding representative." The animals occur in the following order on the obelisk:—(1) two Bactrian camels; (2) a horned bovine animal; (3) a rhinoceros; (4) a large antelope with lyrate horns; (5) elephant and monkeys; (6) apes. The *names* occur in the following order:—(1) "Camels of which double are their backs; (2) "ox of the River Sacêya; (3) *śûśu;* (4) *Pirâti;* (5) *Baziâti;* (6) *Udumi.* Hence it will be seen that there are six kinds of animals figured, and six names given. The problem is to attach these names severally to their individual figured representatives. Now, as the animal and name agree for the camels, and occupy the first place in point of order, of which there is no doubt; and as the name

and figures which stand for the monkeys or apes occupy the sixth place, it is probable, though not positively certain, that the four intervening names also correspond in point of order of arrangement. Consequently we have the name of "ox of the River Sacêya" to stand for the bovine animal, (No. 2); the *śûśu*, for the rhinoceros, (No. 3); the *Pirâti*, for the antelope, (No. 4); and the *Baziâti*, for the elephant, (No. 5).

It is true that the word *śûśu* occurs in the epigraph nearly over the elephant; but that this position of animal and name is not in its proper place is evident from the fact that the whole arrangement—so far as relates to the names of the epigraph corresponding with the space occupied by the animals—has been thrown out of such order and correspondence at the very beginning by the words, "Tribute of the land of Muzri" being placed over the two Bactrian camels. Accordingly we have the words, "whose humps are double," over the space occupied by the bovine animal, the rhinoceros and the antelope. This want of correspondence between the animals and their names, locally considered, has been already pointed out by Hommel. But in order to make the desired arrangement of the word *śûśu* harmonise with the position occupied by the elephant, Dr. Lotz is obliged to comprise the three animals, "ox, rhinoceros and antelope," under one general name, "ox of the River Sacêya." Dr. Lotz objects to a plural number (*Baziati*) representing a single figure of the elephant; and yet he considers that a singular number may stand for three animals so diverse in form and character as an ox, a rhinoceros, and an antelope. Of course a singular noun can be used collectively to denote many individuals of the *same kind;* but I cannot suppose that the Assyrians could have "lumped together" three such dissimilar animals as the above, and employed a collective noun to denote them. Such a designation as "ox of the River Sacêya" standing for an antelope, which is an animal of the deserts or plains, is most inappropriate.

With respect to the names of the Black Obelisk animals, I am strongly inclined to think that they are to be assigned to the respective animals as follows:—

(1). Camels with two humps; (2) "ox of the River

14

Sacêya" = the bovine animal; (3) *śûśu* = the rhinoceros; (4) *Pirâti* = the lyrate-horned antelope; (5) Baziâti = elephants; (6) *Udumi* = the different monkeys or apes.[1]

(2). As to the ox of the River Sacêya"; it may denote the yak (*Bos grunniens*); but I rather incline to the opinion that the arnee or wild buffalo of India is intended, considering the figure of the head which shows the curved horns of a *Bubalus*.

(3). I regard the word *śûśu* as Accadian, meaning "double skinned" (𒁹𒁹𒁹), a very suitable name for the Indian rhinoceros, the double folds of whose hide are so conspicuous in this great pachyderm.

(4). *Pirâti*. I regard this word as being connected with the root פָּרָא or פָּרַה, "to run swiftly," nouns from which root being used to designate several active animals, as "young bullocks," "wild asses," and "mules." The antelope of the obelisk may be intended for the Chikara (*Tragops Bennetii*), the GOAT-ANTELOPE of Europeans in the Deccan.[2]

(5). *Baziâti*. Hommel and Lotz say that this word is most likely an adjective, because it lacks the usual plural sign of 𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋. But surely the omission of this plural sign is not at all unfrequent in Assyrian. Have we not the forms 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 (*a-ga-li*), 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 (*i-bi-li*), "calves" and "oxen," (?) occurring with no definite plural signs? The Assyrians did not always deem it necessary to emphasise a plural number (in the case of a word already grammatically in the plural) by the additional plural sign 𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋. There is no occasion to quote instances where the cases are so numerous. Neither do I see the slightest objection to the name *Baziâti* in the plural being taken to signify elephants because only *one* is represented on the monument; two or more of these

[1] Since I have come to this conclusion, I have found that I have been anticipated by Lenormant ("Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. VI, Part 2, page 408), who has given the same names to the same animals. I can congratulate myself on having thus independently arrived at the same conclusion with so excellent an authority. Alas! that we have to lament his recent death!

[2] *Cf.* Mr. Pinches on the "Progress of Cuneiform Research," Philol. Soc., 11th Report, May, 1882; and sign-list in his "Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-Writing," where he explains the word *pirati* by elephants.—W.H.R.

FROM CYLINDERS AND CONES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

FROM BABYLONIAN BOUNDARY STONES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN BIRDS.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

animals might have formed part of the tribute of the Land of Musri, but the representation of one only was sufficient for the purpose of illustration. The representation on the obelisk of either one or more animals was probably optional on the part of the sculptor, and would depend on the space available for portraiture and inscription.

Some scholars, including Lenormant, refer the word *Baziâti* to an Aryan origin, and compare it with the Sanskrit *vâsita* (वासित), "a female elephant." I will only observe that the figure of this proboscidean on the obelisk is a *male*, as the well-developed tusk clearly shows. The Indian female elephant is destitute of tusks; the African species has them. I still am inclined to adhere to my suggestion (*Transactions*, V, p. 350) that the Assyrian *baziâti* may be referred to the Hebrew root בָּזָה, Arabic بَزَّ "to seize," "take hold of"; and with this idea of the elephant being "the seizing animal," I would compare the Sanskrit *hastin* (हस्तिन्), "an elephant," and *hasta* (हस्त), "the hand," "an elephant's trunk," and again, *kara* (कर), "the hand," "the trunk of an elephant," as being the instrument with which the animal "does" anything; (*kara* = *kṛi* + *a*). One of the names of the male elephant is *dantin* (दन्तिन्), from *danta* (Latin *dens*), "a tooth"; as being the animal with tusks; this may illustrate the *amśi* of the Accadians, if that name really designates the elephant, and be not a fuller form of the *am* merely. The tablet to which Delitzsch (*Assyrische Lesestücke*, p. 29) refers, where the *amśi kharran* is explained by *i-bi*[*lu?*], [illegible] [illegible?], whatever *ibilu* may definitely mean, would show that the animal was not always an "elephant"; *ibilu* seems to be some strong-horned ruminant—the plural form *ibili* occurs with *agali* in W.A.I. I, column vi, l. 55, pl. 42, and it seems almost certain that the *ibi*[*lu*], which represents the *amśi kharran* of the tablet, must represent the *amśi kharran* of Tiglath Pileser's hunting expedition; so that I consider *ka* when used alone to signify "ivory," but when used with *amśi* to refer to the "horns" of the aurochs.

ASSYRIAN BIRDS.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I. A workman felling timber in a mountainous country. Birds with two nests and four young ones in each, in a fir tree; the bird standing up between the two nests looks like a pigeon, but the depth of the nests, and the number of the young, preclude this idea; the proximity of buildings would seem to point to some semi-domesticated bird.

PLATE II. Figures of eagles or vultures as depicted in battle-scenes; the bird shown in the top drawing represents the *kharbaccânu*, "entrail-eating bird," and the *takhatṣasenu*, "battle-bird" of the lists. (See p. 105.)

PLATE III. Fig. 1, an eagle; 2. Raven feeding on the dead body of a soldier; 3. Large figure of an eagle, probably carried with the Assyrian armies as a standard; the Persian royal standard was an eagle of gold, with spread-out wings, on the top of a spear. 4. Man slaying eagles. 5. Vulture-headed deity. 6. Raven. 7. Notwithstanding the parrot-like form of this figure, it is probably meant for a bird of prey; it occurs on a very conventional representation of a lion hunt.

PLATE IV. Winged human figures with heads of the griffon-vulture.

PLATE V. The upper drawing represents a battle-scene, with birds of prey feeding on the slain; the bird depicted in the act of picking out a man's eye is a raven; compare the expression, *budhûr ini*, "eye-picker," p. 79. The figures on the bronze dish are those of two bare-necked griffon-vultures about to feast on the dead body of a kid or fawn.

PLATE VI. Represents various birds in the act of flying, descending from trees, or falling after having been shot with bow and arrow. The long-tailed bird (top centre) is probably meant for a magpie; compare the name *dalû*, "the long bird," of the lists (p. 109). The men with hare, living birds in the hands, and birds' nests with young ones, are returning from a hunting or fowling expedition; it is quite impossible to say what birds are intended.

PLATE VII. Return from hunting with hares and birds; the birds in the men's hands and the one in flight are probably meant for partridges or francolins; the bird ascending the trunk of a fir tree may be intended for a woodpecker, or other scansorial kind, but the beak is too much curved for a woodpecker, and the artist has not represented the downward affixed position of the tail to the tree, as generally exhibited in a climbing woodpecker.

PLATE VIII. Living birds in flight, about to perch, or captured; francolins seem to be intended.

PLATE IX. The three birds on the ground amongst the trees are evidently pigeons; the artist here has been more successful than usual in bird delineation; the attitudes of the pigeons are well expressed and true to nature, while the middle figure shows the characteristic fleshy skin of the upper mandible. The building is probably a dove-house; the drawing may be compared with that given by Professor Rawlinson of "pigeon towers near Isfahan," in his *Ancient Monarchies*, II, p. 297. The long-tailed birds may be meant for magpies, the others for francolins which, with partridges, are readily captured.

PLATE X. The drawing on the left hand represents a "duck-weight" formed of greenstone; the bird is shown with its head bent upon its back, in its attitude of sleeping or resting. There are many of these duck-weights in the British Museum, varying from 40 lbs. to about a pennyweight, and made of agate, marble, baked clay, &c. The attitude of the duck with its head on its back would seem to indicate that this bird in a domesticated or semi-domesticated state was known to the Assyrians. The ends of bows have the figure-head of a swan or duck. The bird-figures on the panier or basket frequently represented on the Assyrian sculptures, appear to be those of a dove; but they may be almost anything else in bird form.

PLATE XI. Figures of the ostrich from ornaments and cylinders. The central drawings, as well as those on the left, at the bottom of the plate exhibit the bisulcous form of the ostrich's foot; this would show that all the figures are intended for this bird, and not for the bustard, the only other bird of somewhat similar form with which the Assyrians would be acquainted. The ostrich is occasionally depicted on the monuments with outspread wings in rapid flight on foot, which may illustrate the remark of Xenophon: "it uses its feet for running as well as its wings, which it raises like a sail" (ὥσπερ ἱστιῷ χρωμένη). *Anab.*, I, v, 3.

PLATE XII. A very conventional drawing of some bird of prey, as shown by the claws; the general form reminds one of the raven; but considering the character of the claws, possibly the Egyptian vulture may be intended; but the whole figure is ideal, and perhaps therefore not intended for any special bird.

NAMES OF BIRDS FROM

ASSYRIAN.

Families.—Vulturidæ, Falconidæ.

1.	'e-ru-u		na-as-ru	
2.	za-ai-khu		la-kha-an-tuv	
3.	ca-ti-ma-tuv		'e-ru-ul-luv	
4.	tas-ba-luv OR kha-khar-ili		ka-ri-ib bar-khâ-ti	
5.	śar-rad cip-ri		lal-la cip-par	
6.	zi-i-bu		{khar / mur}-ru-kha-ai	

Strigidæ.

7.	es-se-bu		khu-śi-i
8.	mar-ra-tuv		its-tsur tu-ba-ci
9.	ka-du-u		ac-cu-u

Picidæ.

10.	ci-li-luv		cu-li-li
11.	an-pa-tuv		.....
12.	du-lim-mas-sat		.....

Cuculidæ.

13.	kha-zu-u		khu-u-ku

Upupidæ.

14.	nam-bu-ub-tuv		a-dam-mu-mu

THE LISTS AND MONUMENTS.

ACCADIAN.	BIRDS KNOWN, OR PROBABLY INDICATED.
Families.—Vulturidæ, Falconidæ.	
ID KHU, ERU (?)	Griffon Vulture (*Gyps fulvus*), Eagles included.
CA-SU-CUD-DA	Some Screaming Bird of Prey.
.. ..	Egyptian V. (*Neophron percnopterus*).
.....	Lämmergeier (*Gypaëtus barbatus*).
.....	" "
A-DIM-MA	Honey Buzzard (*Pernis apivorus*) (?).
NU-UM-MA	Some Screaming Bird of Prey.
Strigidæ.	
.. ..	Eagle Owl (*Bubo ascalaphus*).
.....	Scops Owl (*Scops giu*) or Little Owl (*Athene glaux*).
.. ..	Screech Owl (*Strix flammea*).
Picidæ.	
.. ..	Great Spotted Woodpecker (*Picus Syriacus*), or Green Woodpecker (*P. viridis*).
GIŚ ŚIR	
SIB TIR-RA	*Picus Syriacus.*
Cuculidæ.	
SU LU	Common Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*); and Great Spotted (*Oxylophus glandarius*)(?).
Upupidæ.	
.....	Hoopoe (*Upupa epops*), or perhaps Peewit (*Vanellus cristatus*).

NAMES OF BIRDS FROM

ASSYRIAN.

Hirundinidæ.

15.		as-ci-ci-tuv or		tsi-li-li-tuv
		ab-ci-ni-ni-tuv		
		tsa-pi-tav	.....	
		kha-tsi-ba-ruv		bu-li-li

Sylviadæ.

16.		tsu-la-mu		tsa-lam-du
		its-tsur mu-si	.....	
17.		kip-su		tsi-tsil-du
		its-tsur ki-i-śi	.....	
18.		ma-ac-lat ub-la		khu-ra-tsa-ni-tuv

Fringillidæ, Emberizidæ, &c.

19.		(D.P. food) abicta	.....	
		sa ecil		
20.		di-ik-di-ku		its-tsur śa-me-di
		duc-duc-cu		

Sturnidæ.

21.		al-lal-luv	.....	
22.		ri-hu	.....	
23.		'e-ri-bu	.....	

THE LISTS AND MONUMENTS.

ACCADIAN.		BIRDS KNOWN, OR PROBABLY INDICATED.
	Hirundinidæ.	
.....		Common Swallow (*Hirundo urbica*).
	TSA PI TAV	
	KHU RUB BA CU GUSUR RA.	
	GUN GIL	Swallow, Martin, Swift, &c.
	Sylviadæ.	
.....		
	A KHU	Nightingale or Bulbul (*Lusciola luscinia*), or Sedge-warbler (*Salicaria phragmitis*).
	KIP SU	Reed Warbler (*Salicaria arundinacea*) (?) or *Acrocephalus stentorius*.
	NAM BIR GI ZI	
	GA MU UN DU	Golden Oriole (*Oriolus galbula*).
	Fringillidæ, Emberizidæ, &c.	
	KHU MES	Finches, &c.
	CU	Sparrow (*Passer domesticus*).
	Sturnidæ.	
	SIB TUR	Starling (*Sturnus vulgaris*).
	SIB	Rook (?).
	KHU RUB	Locust Bird (*Pastor roseus*).

NAMES OF BIRDS FROM

ASSYRIAN.

Corvidæ.

24.	or	a-ri-bu or kha-khar		a-ri-bu
			.....	
25.		ka-ku-u		tar-ma-zi-lu
26.		pa-hu		ka-ka-nu
27.		casid cab-ruv		casid ca-bar-ti
28.	or	tas-bal-luv or kha-akh-khu		its-tsur śa-a-mu
29.		bal-lu-tsi-tuv		tu-bal-la-ats ci-na-śa 'its nest

Columbidæ.

30.		ur-śa-nu		ta-am-si-lu
31.		tar-ru		ca-ca-ba-a-nu
32.		ir-ca-bu		ri-ga-bu
33.		śu-um (ma-tu?)	.....	

Emberizidæ.

34.		si-li-in-gu		bu-ri-du

Perdicidæ.

35.		ka-ku-ul-luv		cu-lu-ku-ku ci-lip-pū

Otididæ.

36.		śu-din-nu		gi-il-gi-da-nu

.ISTS AND MONUMENTS.

ACCADIAN.		BIRDS KNOWN, OR PROBABLY INDICATED.
		Corvidæ.
.....		Raven (*Corvus corax*), and Brown-necked Raven (*C. umbrinus*).
.....		
.....		Some Cawing Bird.
.....		Hooded Crow (*C. cornix*).
.....		Jackdaw (*C. monedula*).
.....		Some bluish-brown Cawing Bird (Roller) (?)
.....		Magpie (*Pica caudata*).
		Columbidæ.
	SAK	Wood Pigeon (*Columba palumbus*).
	IGI MUL	Turtle Dove (*Turtur auritus*).
.....		Rock Pigeon (*C. œneas*) (?).
	ŚU UM MU	Domestic Pigeon.
		Emberizidæ.
	IL LUM BI	Snow Finch (*Montifringilla alpicola*).
		Perdicidæ.
.....		Persian Red-legged Partridge (*Caccabis chukar var.*), and Common Partridge (*Perdix cinerea*) (?) Francoline (*Francolinus vulgaris*) (?).
.....		
		Otididæ.
.....		Great Bustard (*Otis tarda*, and *O. McQueenii*, "Houbara").

NAMES OF BIRDS FROM

	ASSYRIAN.			
		Gruidæ.		
37.		ur-ni-gu		ca-li-u
		Ciconidæ.		
38.		rak-rak-ku		la-ka-la-ka
		Tantalidæ.		
39.		um-mi mi'i		a-ba-ya
		Ardeidæ.		
40.		.. ..	.....	
41.		na-adh-ru	.....	
		Phœnicopteræ.		
42.		dhar lugal-luv (borrowed from Accadian)	.....	
		Pelicanidæ.		
43.		tus cu-mu-u		a-ta-an nâri
		ab-bu-un-nu	.....	
		Gallinæ.		
44.		cu-ni-pu	.....	
		'e-zi-zu		dil-bat
	(And apparently several other names.)		.....	
		Struthionidæ.		
45.		śa-ka-tuv		se-ip a-ric
		gam-gam-mu	.....	

THE LISTS AND MONUMENTS.

ACCADIAN.		BIRDS KNOWN, OR PROBABLY INDICATED.
	Gruidæ.	
	KESDA	Common Crane (*Grus communis*).
	Ciconidæ.	
. . . . .		White Stork (*Ciconia alba* and *C. nigra*).
	Tantalidæ.	
	AMA-A	Ibis (*Tantalus ibis*) (?); (*Comatibis comata*).
	Ardeidæ.	
	U-A	Buff-backed Heron, or "Cow-bird" (*Ardea russata*).
	A-GUS	Heron (*Ardea cinerea*, or *A. alba*).
	Phœnicopteræ.	
	DU DUR RA NU	Flamingo (*Phœnicopterus antiquorum*).
	Pelicanidæ.	
	NAM BIR MUKH DIL LUV	
	RAG GUŚ ŚA	Pelican (*Pelicanus onocrotalus*).
	Gallinæ.	
	A GUS SE	Domestic Cock.
	SAG GUS U	
	Struthionidæ.	
	GIRI-GID-DA	Ostrich (*Struthio camelus*).
	GAM GAM (KHU)	

Dr. Tristram * has kindly read over the proof sheets of this paper, and has favoured me with a few remarks, which I here insert.

Referring to domesticated ducks and geese by the Assyrians (p. 51), he says: "Our goose could hardly be domesticated thus; the Indian goose does not reach so far west. Assyria is too hot for the goose, and I suspect for any duck either."

On page 52 he refers to the very interesting and wonderfully perfect fresco-painting of ducks and geese in the Boulac Museum, the oldest painting in the world.

Page 54. Dr. Tristram confirms Mr. Blanford's remark on the birds of Mesopotamia by his own observations in that country in 1881.

Page 71. "I found *Hoplopterus spinosus* common in Mesopotamia; it breeds where the lapwing does not. The text would equally apply to either bird."

Page 72. "The hoopoe would be one of the most conspicuous and striking birds to the Assyrians; it is very plentiful."

Page 74. Sedge and reed warblers. "I do not agree with you as to the species of warblers. Those you mention are very rare. Cetti's warbler, for instance, is much more common."

Page 75. "The actual papyrus bird is *Acrocephalus stentorius*, a noisy fellow; it builds nests like those of the reed warbler." This species therefore may fairly be considered to be the bird of the reeds; it does not differ much in structure or dimensions from the European reed warbler.

Page 78. As to rooks in Assyria, Dr. Tristram says that Ainsworth has mistaken his birds when he mentions rooks as occurring there. Dr. Tristram thinks jackdaws are the birds meant, as represented on the monuments with their nests and young (see p. 43). "Jackdaws are to rooks as 100 to 1."

Page 104. "The falcon of Mesopotamia used by falconers is the *Falco sacer*, which is as large as the gyr falcon."

Page 110. Dr. Tristram says: "You ought to find places for the bee eater and the roller; so common, beautiful, and striking birds must have been known to the Assyrians." If we read *sarrat kipri*, "queen of the regions," instead of *sarrad kipri*, "terror of the regions," for the "honey bird," then the bee eater of heavenly beauty may be the *kallari* of the Accadian column.

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* See the author's interesting "Ornithological Notes of a Journey through Syria, Mesopotamia, and Southern Armenia in 1881," in the *Ibis*.

TRANSACTIONS

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ON A TABLET IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM RELATING TO TWO ARCHITECTS.

By S. BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L.

Read 1st February, 1881.

THE tablet which is the subject of the present paper is in the shape of a propylon or pylon, with the cornice of palm leaves, and with the usual hemi-cylindrical moulding at the sides. It is of a dark grey granite. Tablets of this material and shape are unusual, most of the sepulchral tablets being of calcareous stone, rounded at the top, and rectangular ones, ornamented with a cornice, being the exception. It is of the period of Amenophis III, of the XVIIIth dynasty, the persons for whom it was constructed having worked at the temple of Amen for that monarch, and probably having died in his reign or that of his successor. The tablet which is in the British Museum was bought at the sale of S. Anastasi, at Paris, in 1857, and was No. 62 of the sale catalogue.

At all periods sepulchral tablets or tombstones were used by the ancient Egyptians; they were deposited often inside the sepulchres, but on certain papyri are represented outside the doors of the tombs, and often accompanied by the small obelisks which adorned the sepulchres.

The object of these tablets was to record a certain prayer or formula for the dead, which their inscriptions occasionally

invite the passer by to recite to certain deities, generally the sepulchral or chthonic gods. These inscriptions also occasionally mention the virtues and labours of the dead. It is this part of the tablets which invests them with a certain interest, for although they are by no means biographies, they often give a slight sketch of the official posts successively held by the deceased, and other points of historical or political interest. The tablets indeed have many other points of interest, and vary according to the period at which they were made. At the earliest age they are nearly covered with inscriptions, and the figures introduced into them are the deceased alone, or the deceased together with relations receiving adorations, libations, and prayers from other members of his family. At the time of the XIth and XIIth dynasties the stèle or tablets are not only covered with inscriptions, but the figures of the deceased introduced as pictures or ornaments increase in number, and the texts become more copious in their religious formulæ, while the inscriptions often contain information as to the occupation, merits, and duties of the deceased, especially if an officer of the court. The language varies also, according to the period, that of the first age to the VIth dynasty being remarkably concise, resembling the formula of the tombs in the absence of certain parts of the formula, especially of the expression relative to "giving" to the deities, which always occurs at a later period, and is constant at the XIIth dynasty. The tablets of the XVIIIth dynasty represent the deceased in adoration to sepulchral deities, although ancestral worship still appears, and the figures are distinguished by the appearance of the cone on the head of the persons represented in the sculptures or pictures, the use of the form *ka* in the dedication, and the absence of the expression of the form Osiris or Osirian before the name of the deceased. While, also, the tablets for sepulchral purposes prior to the XVIIIth dynasty are only ornamented with sculptures representing ancestral worship, at this later dynasty the adoration of deities by the deceased appears, and continues till the fall of Egypt. It may, in fact, be considered that the XVIIIth dynasty marks an important epoch in the religious development of the country and the rise of the

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sepulchral honours rendered to the chthonic deities, especially Osiris and the solar myths of the Karneter, or hell, in the main picture. Of course great difference of art distinguishes the tablets of the XVIIIth from those of the XIXth and XXth dynasties, but the same general principles prevail. Although the use of tablets continued under the XXIst and subsequent dynasties till the Roman period, sepulchural tablets are much rarer after the XXth. At the Ptolemaic period the tablets abound in personal details—the age attained by the dead, and the time occupied by embalming—till, under the Romans, in addition to bas-reliefs imitating Greek art, and the substitution of demotic for hieroglyphs under the Ptolemies, the Greek language ultimately replaced the Egyptian.

The present tablet is for two architects, or, as they are called in the inscriptions, "superintendents of works," an office held frequently by persons of high rank in the hierarchy. They were twin brothers, born of course on the same day, and were attached to the constructions of the shrine and temple of Amen of that part of Thebes called Southern Ap, supposed to be Karnak, one having charge of the western or right hand of the temple, the other of the eastern or left hand of the same edifice. Both are represented in the tablet, and one survived the other, apparently Har, who seems to have died at an old age, and to have been buried at Gournah.

Many names of architects of the earlier dynasties have been preserved, and nine have been given by Brugsch in his History as anterior to the XIIth dynasty, under whom several other *mer kat* or "architects" have been published, and their genealogies have been supposed to throw light upon the Egyptian chronology. Other persons not called *mer kat*[1] also appear to have exercised architectural functions, and Teta, under the IVth dynasty, appears on his tomb at the age of Khafra or Chefren, with a level or compasses in his hand. It is however difficult to trace the whole history of Egyptian architects from the monuments, as there are gaps in the succession.

This tablet is a contribution to the history of the XVIIIth dynasty, as the two architects worked for Amenophis III,

[1] The lists of these architects have been given by Lepsius and Lieblein. *vide infra.*

and evidently in the middle of the reign; and it is remarkable to find the queen Nefert-ari, who is better known as Aahmes-Nefert-ari, the wife of Amasis I, and mother of Amenophis I, elevated to the rank of the gods, and able to confer "the delicious breath of the North wind" and "water and wine" to the deceased. It is also to be noticed that on this tablet the parentage of the twin architects is not mentioned. As some ambiguity might arise about Suti and Har being two personages, that is dissipated by the expression in the 19th line, where the phrase of "*we were* over the construction of the memorial monuments of Thebes" implies that the two had been jointly employed. The dedications are to the usual sepulchral deities, and are accompanied by a long and rather obscure address to the god Amen, difficult in many portions to understand, but showing that the monuments were set up before the rise of the disk heresy at Thebes, or the close of the reign of Amenophis III—at all events, while the elevation to Amen Ra secured official favour at the Egyptian Court.

The inscriptions in the horizontal lines above the tablet are as follows: "Act of homage to Amen Ra, who gives sepulchral meals in Southern An to the *ka* (or ghost) of the superintendent of works of Amen in Apt or Karnak, to Suti justified." "An act of homage to Mut, mistress of the Heaven, who gives all good and pure things to the *ka* of the superintendent of all the works of the South, Suti justified"; and a third "act of homage to Athor, regent of the Cemetery, who gives a good life placed on earth to the *ka* of the superintendent of Amen in Southern Thebes, Suti justified." On the other side are three similar dedications.

"An act of homage to Athor, resident in Uas or Western Thebes, who gives all that appears in presence on the altars daily to the *ka* of the superintendent of works of Amen in Thebes, Har justified."[1] Then, "An act of homage to Khonsu, who gives all sweet and delicious things to the *ka* of the superintendent of all the works of the king in the district of the South, Har justified." Then again, another "Act of homage to Athor, resident in Uas or Western Thebes, who grants to receive the cakes (*sensen*) in the temple to the *ka* of

[1] Correctly worded *maχru* in some instances, *maχru-ut* in the passive form.

the superintendent of works of Amen in Southern Apt, or Karnak, Har justified."

Similar ideas are expressed by the vertical lines, three in number, at each side. Those on the right side are three dedications, the first, "An act of homage to Haremakhu, Horus in the Horizon, or Harmachis, lord of the Heaven, who grants to see the solar orb and behold the Moon, as when on earth, to the *ka* of the superintendent of the works of Amen in Southern Thebes, Horus justified, like the Sun." The second dedication is "An act of homage to Anupu," or Anubis, "who gives a good funeral after old age, and a sepulture in the West of Western Thebes, to the *ka* for the superintendent of all the works of the king in the district of the South, Har justified, like Anupu." The third act of homage is to Nefert-ari, or Ari-nefert, "the queen and mother of Amenophis I," of the XVIIIth dynasty, "who gives the delicious breath of the North wind, libations of pure water and wine, which come before to the *ka* of the superintendent of works of Amen in Southern Ap, or Karnak, Har justified to the divine wife."

Beneath these dedications is a figure of Har, draped in the usual manner and wearing the cone[1] on his head, a kind of costume which marks the period, seated before a table of offerings facing to the right. The cone was not always worn in sepulchral scenes, and it appears in civil life; although not restricted, it often appears on the heads of females when absent from those of men. It first is seen at the time of the XVIIIth dynasty, worn by persons adoring the deified Amenophis I,[2] and then as a simple cone ⋂, red or yellow at the top ⋂ ⋂, and on other monuments of the reign of Amenophis III,[3] also at the time of Khuenaten ⋂.[4] It continues through the XIXth dynasty,[5] and the XXth of the age of Rameses III.[6] The form with spikes is later, as , perhaps of the XXIInd and XXIIIrd dynasties, and appears

[1] By aid of Mr. Rylands I shall be enabled hereafter to give the varieties of cones from the XVIIIth dynasty to the time of the Romans. They were probably a mode of dressing the hair, or made of artificial hair. None have been found.

[2] Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions, Pl. 7. Coffin, British Museum, No. 6662. Leemans, Mon. d. Mus. de Leide, Pl. 22, III Ptie.

[3] Prisse, Monuments, Pl. 39.

[4] Mariette, Mon. div., Pl. 26. Leemans, III Ptie., Pl. 4.

[5] Leemans, Mon., II Ptie., Pl. 9. [6] Sharpe, *l.c.*, II, Pl. 39.

on the head of a woman named Bakrans (Bocchoris) of the XXVth dynasty, and in the British Museum on monuments of the XXVIth dynasty.[1]

To the left are three similar dedications, also in three vertical lines. The first an act of homage to Osiris . . . . . "who gives all things which appear upon the tables before the hand of Onnophris to the *ka* of the superintendent of public works of Amen in Southern Ap or Karnak, Sut. [erased] justified like," or "to Osiris." The second dedication is "An act of adoration to Socharis Osiris, lord of the sepulchral chest, who grants to give in and out of the Karneter or Hades, and the soul (*ba*) not to be hindered," or turned back, "from what it desires, to the *ka* of the superintendent of all the works of the king in Southern An or Hermonthis, Suti [erased] justified to," or "like Sekar." The third and last is "An act of homage to Isis, the divine mother, who grants to receive the passage[2] at the edge of the gap (*peqau*) of the Horizon by the order of the great god, to the *ka* of the superintendent of the works of Amen in Southern Ap," or Karnak, "Suti justified to Isis."

Underneath the deceased whose form is partly erased, is represented, draped as Har, seated likewise on a chair and having a table of offerings before him, with a similar table, and having inscribed in the area above his head, "all things which appear before."

Before proceeding farther with this part of the tablet, attention must be called to the expression 𓎛 *ka* or *qa*, which has attracted lately so much the attention of Egyptologists,[3] and has been supposed to be the genius, eidolon or manes, of the dead, and to have had a special worship with a priest attached to it. Dr. Hincks, from a comparison of dated and other tablets, was the first to point out that the *ka* is not mentioned on these sepulchral monuments till the close of the XIIth dynasty, and that anterior to that period all the gifts of the gods were made to the person direct. After the XIIth dynasty the *ka* is always mentioned, and according to the recent explanation in reference to future conditions of the

[1] Mariette, Mon. divers, Pl. 47. [2] *Uah.*

[3] See M. Le Page Renouf, Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. VI, p. 494, &c. Maspero, *Ib.*, VII, p. 6; and *Revue Scientifique*, March, 1879, p. 816.

dead, and not in the sense of "reception[1] instead of personality": the phrase having been translated formerly "for the reception" of the deceased, or for him to receive.

The things granted by the gods to the *ka* are chiefly such as appertain to the living mortal, food of various kinds, all good and sweet things, and the usual bill of fare of an Egyptian repast; and also to behold the sun and moon; and also, what is remarkable, a long life while on earth and a funeral after a good old age, not to mention that the soul should not be deprived of what it desires: ideas scarcely applicable to another kind of spiritual existence separated from the present, such as the *ka* has been supposed to be, although such gifts would be very appropriate to the human being considered in its individuality before and after death, but scarcely applicable to the more etherial silhouette of the mortal.

There is not, however, time to enter upon a full discussion of the *ka* here, although it is evident some of the romantic notions attributed to it are not proved by the texts. The whole of the psychological question of the *ka* requires an exhaustive monumental inquiry, as well as its relation to the mortal; for while it is evident that the gods could have appropriately given old age and burial to a deceased mortal, such gifts as to go in and out of the Hades were only possible for the dead and to the deceased; while gifts of food and drink, sweet air of the North wind, and other material benefits, were more available for the deceased in a state of resurrection in the mortal frame, although the soul participated in the same. Is the sense of the verb "to give" in these texts past, present, or future? Probably future. As this tablet is of the time of the XVIIIth dynasty, it is necessary to remark that the term Osiris or Osirian is not prefixed to the name of the deceased; and here it is important to mark that as the notice of the *ka* is not introduced till the XIIth dynasty, that of Osiris as applied to the dead does not appear till the XIXth. It would, in fact, be difficult to find a tablet of the XVIIIth dynasty in which the form Osirian or Osiris is applied to an individual, other than a monarch, prior to the XIXth dynasty, although monarchs were specially honoured with the appella-

[1] Brugsch, Wörterbuch, Pt. V, p. 47, translates *ka* by person.

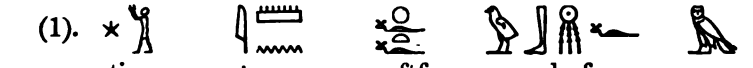
tion as early as the IVth, supposing the wooden coffin found in the third pyramid to belong to the monarch Mycerinus. The diacritical texts of tablets of the XVIIIth dynasty are the representations of deities on the sepulchral tablets.

In the middle of the tablet is the representation of a tablet, *hutu*, having outside, in the square depression, the two symbolic eyes, *uta*, emblem of Horus; on the upper part of the tablet is the Hut,[1] or Good Demon, represented as a winged disk with horns.[2] The scene or picture is divided into two compartments, representing adorations to the gods Asar or Osiris, and Anupu or Anubis, by Har or Horus, and Suti or Sethos. At the top and left side of the tablet stands Osiris, wearing the crown, *atef*, mummied, the collar, *uskh*, and the counterpoise of a collar; holding by both hands, which emerge from the bandages, the sceptre, *uas*. The figure of Suti, which is in adoration, is entirely chiselled out, and there only remains his name and titles, or rather Teba or Baht, the being the equivalent of *teba*, or tablet. The inscriptions in this portion read: "Osiris, the great god, ruler eternal," and "the making of adorations to Osiris and prostrations to him who is resident in the west by the superintendent of the works of Amen Suti." Suti is followed by the figure of a female wearing a cone on her head, draped, and lifting her hands in adoration to Osiris. Before Osiris is the usual altar holding the water-vase, with cover and papyrus flower; on the other side is the god Anupu, or Anubis, jackal-headed, wearing the collar, *uskh*, and the tunic, *shenti*, in a similar attitude, holding a sceptre, *uas*, in his left hand, and an emblem of life in his right. The figure of Har, who stood adoring him, is erased, as also that of the female who accompanies him; the scene represents the same subject as the former.

In the area the inscriptions read: "Anupu, attached to the embalming and the making of adorations to Anupu or Anubis, and prostrations to him who is attached to the embalming, by the superintendent of the public works of Amen, Har." Below this part of the subject are twenty lines of hieroglyphs, adorations to Amen Ra.

[1] Brit. Mus. 559. See Brugsch, "Wörtb.," p. 873.

[2] For the mystical meaning of this see Brugsch, "Dict. Geog.," p. 539, &c.

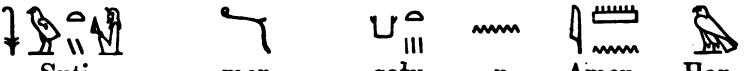
(1). 

tiau ȧmen χeftf ub f m

Adoration [to] Ammon when he shines as

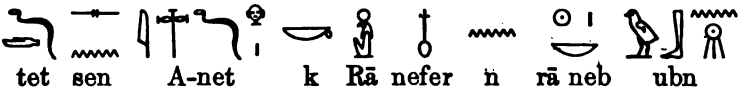
Harem χuti ȧn mer qatu en Amen

Harmachis by the superintendent (of) works of Ammon



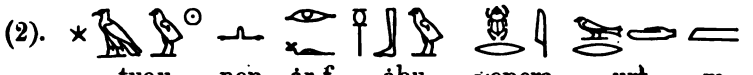
Suti mer qatu n Amen Har

Suti and the superintendent of works of Ammon Horus



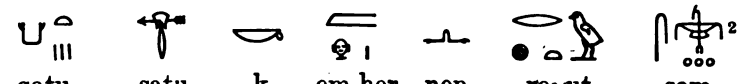
tet sen A-net k Rā nefer n rā neb ubn

say they Hail thou Sun goodness[1] *of every-day shining (in)*

(2). 

tuau nen ȧr f ȧbu χepera urt m

the Morn not is made cessation happens rest by



qatu satu k em her nen reχut sam

the works rays thy from a face not known the gilding

nen su ma ȧmuma k ptȧh ut neb k

not is it like beams thy, opened formest thou

hā k mess nenti mes-su f ua her f

limbs thy shaped not born is he alone in his turns

[1] Splendour, Pierret.

[2] Copper, gold, brass, have been conjectured, but either is very improbable.

masi heh heri m kar sem f
passing for ages the path in millions having his form

(4). mà ám k ma ám her-t neferu áun k
so are thy rays as rays above more beautiful thy colour

r anem s t'a k pe her neb her
than its skin thou traverseth the heaven all faces in

maa k s'em k ámen ut m her (5). sn makut
seeing thee thou goest hidden from face their given thee

tuaut am-t rut sqat k kar χent k
the morning the rays strong proceedest thou having holiness thine

hru ketu ḥept k maten átru m
day little thou paddlest the road of atars in

ḥāá fennu (6). at hru k kar k
millions hundreds of thousands moments day thine having thee

masi s hetp k šm k unnu ḳarh ma'-tet
receiving it thy peace makest thou the hours the night also to endure

masmas nak su nen kheper ȧb m
thou hast accumulated them not happened departure from

qat k har neb (7). maa sen ȧm k
works thine eye every see they by thee

nen sam sen χetf hetp χen k snehap k r
not stay they when rests majesty thine brighter thou than

uben tiau ḥet't' su k ȧb s maa s-ut
the rise of the morning lights thy passed sight has it

(8). ḥetep k m manu χar qat sen mȧ
restest thou in ocean then sleep they like the

sχar mu ȧ net k ȧtn en hru
conditions of the dead oh hail thou disk of the day
seemed

qam tem ȧr anχ sen bak
creator of created things giving life their hawk

(9). āa sab s'u neb χeprr sθes su tisf
great diversified plumes all scarab elevating himself

[1] instead of , Pierret.

χeper tisf nenti mestu f Har sems
forming self not born is he Horus senior

herat nu ár naf ahahai (10) n šāā
in the heart the Ether made has he rejoicings from rising

n hotep f matt neb f n qam
to setting his also modelling of the production

satu χnum Amen ámmt ti ta ta
of the soil Chnum hiding his rays taker the countries

m āa ur nas Mut χut
from the greatest to the least Mut the glory

(11). neteru rut abu uah aa ur rut
(of) gods and men workman devoted great very strong

m an′ s nen tennu men hu qani
in actions her not numbered the cattle driving victorious

ḥu heq tu f áb sen ari
driving wild animals his lairs their making

(12).

anχ sen uni mas p'-hert χepr teni

life their (he) is going presenting running Cheper determining

mestu f sθes ȧb f m χā n Nu

his birth elevating heart his in the body of the Ether

šhet tata m ȧtn f pati tata ar

lighting countries with disk his substance two countries making

su t'sf (13). maat f neb ua anr tut tau

him self seen is he lord sole leading in hand countries

ra neb em teqa χent her ta ubn

day every beholding the march upon earth shining

m pe χeperu ar f tariu[1] qat m

in heaven transformations makes he years as

ȧbut haha mer f (14). qab mer f

months heat chooses he cooling chooses he

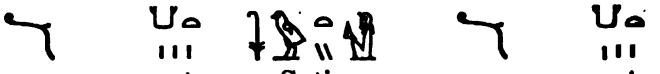
ta f bats' hāā ānq f ta neb m

he gives relaxing limbs clasps he land every in

[1] Pierret reads

hatt n ubn f rā neb r tuau f

venerating to rising his day every to adore him



mer qat Suti mer qat

the superintendent of works Suti the superintendent works

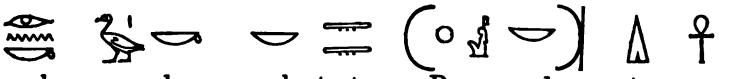
(15).

Har t'et f[1] nuk χerp m apt

Har says he I (was) chief in cell

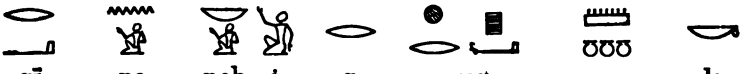
k mer qat m χem k mati

thy superintendent of works in shrine thy appointed



arnak sa-k neb ta ta Ra ma neb ta anx

made to thee thy son lord of the two countries Nebmara giving life



rā na neb ȧ r χerp men k

gave to me lord my to superintend memorial thine

(16).

reχ[2] rạ tep a arna χerp qanqan

I watch head my I was made superintendent prevailing

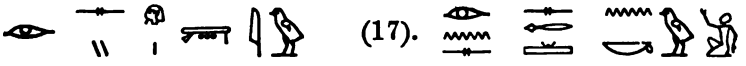
m men k ạr mat n ab k ạu a

of monuments thy making true of heart thy was I

[1] Pierret, p. 71 (Suti). [2] Pierret.

reχ ku a shept k her maa saa k

knowing myself making to rest thee though truths magnifying thee



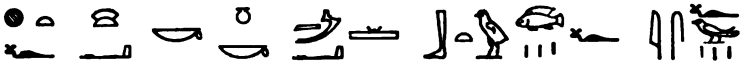
(17).

ạr s tá ta ạu ạrnas saa ku

doing it on earth was it made I myself magnified

tak hestua tu ta m Apti ạu ạ m šestut k

givest thou my favour on earth in Thebes was I in thy following



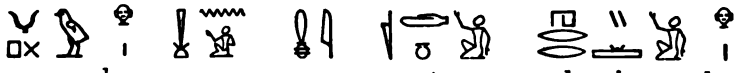
χeft χaa k nuk mā batū f asf

when in thy crowning I am one correct he who hates fault

(18).

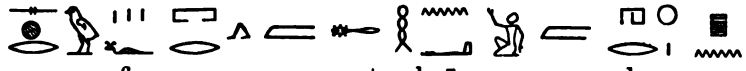
nen hari her χart neb n t'et ams

not delighting in words any of speech false,



apu - her sen ạ mạ qat a harri a her

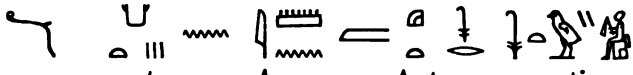
except my brother like me I worked delighting in



s-χeru-f per m χat hnā ạ m har pen

his plans coming out from the belly with me on day that

(19).



mer qat n Amen m Apt rasu suti

superintendent works of Amon in Karnak Suti

Har un-ạ m χerp her sem ạu f

Har (says) *was I superintending at the West was he*

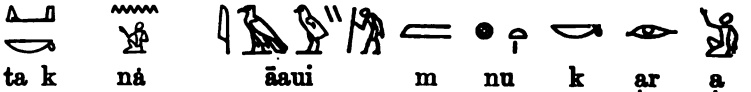
her áb au n hr χerp men ur

at the East were we in superintending the monuments great

(20).

m ápt her χent n Uas nu Amen

in Thebes in the midst of W. Thebes the city of Amen (No-Amon)

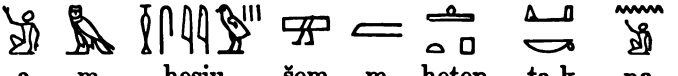


ta k ná āaui m nu k ạr ạ

gavest thou to me an old age in city thy made me

ḥer neferu k samta hr ament asbt hetep áb sem-

through goodness thy a funeral in West a place of content United

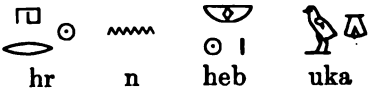
(21). 

ạ m ḥesiu šem m ḥetep ta k nạ

am I to the favoured going in peace thou givest to me

sesen net'm χeft men t'ai s's'eshtu

breath delicious when moved having the crowning[1]



hr n heb uka

the day of the festival called ụka.

[1] See Pierret, "Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes." Vol. I, p. 70. 4to. Paris, 1870, who has translated and published this text.

They read—

1. Adoration to Amen-Ra when he shines as Haremakhu or Harmachis, from the superintendent of the works of Amen-Ra Suti, and the superintendent of the works of Amen-Ra Har, who say, Hail Ra continuing daily shining
2. morning, neither making delay nor making cessation in the work of thy beams above, nothing is known like their gilding; there is not anything like thy rays; nothing is like the gilding of thy rays
3. unfolded is thy gleaming, thou thyself producing that which was not produced, alone in its turn, ever passing, going alone for millions, who has its passage
4. like thy beams, like the rays above, more beautiful are thy colours than the skin, thou goest above, all faces behold thee, thou goest hidden from them
5. the morning is given to thee daily to renew, thou goest along making thy passage, when the day lessens thou gainest atars billions and millions
6. in the daily course having thee in its passage, making thee at rest, thou hast stayed the hours of the night as if thou hadst multiplied them, there happened not any failure in the work thou hast done all eyes
7. they behold thee, they do not move while thy majesty is at rest at thou wakest up at the rise of the morning thou illuminest, thy beams open the eyes;
8. thou art at rest in the ocean, when they sleep as it were, hail orb of day, creator of mankind, making their life the great the dead;
9. having all plumes varied, making himself to be transported above, forming himself who has not been born, the elder Horus dwelling in the midst of the Nu or Ether, who has given
10. joy from his rising to his setting, as it were, moulding the creation of the floors the Chnum hiding the rays, taking the worlds from the greatest to the least, the glorious mother
11. of the gods and men of the West workman very greatly attached to her innumerable actions, not smiting its gazelles in their lairs, making

12. them to live, Kheper brings each that has been born, elevating his beauty from the bosom of the Nu or Ether, illuminating the world with his orb, the matter of the two countries making himself;
13. he is seen the sole lord leading forth the countries daily, beholding those treading on earth, making the heaven to shine by his forms, making times and months, hot as he wishes;
14. cold as he wishes, he makes the limbs weak, he clasps them. Every land delights at his rising daily in adoring him. The superintendent of works Suti, the superintendent of works,
15. Har. He says, I was the chief in thy chapels, the superintendent of works in thy chapel regulating what thy beloved Son Neb-ma-Ra, Amenophis III, the giver of life, did for thee. Gave me my lord to superintend thy memorial buildings.
16. I watched with my head I made to be consecrated, and worked thy monuments, doing what was true to thy heart. I knew to satisfy thee by truth, magnifying thee on earth.
17. I did it magnifying thee, giving thou my favour on earth in Apti or Karnak. I was in thy service when thou wast crowned, I was true, hating idleness,
18. not content through all the words of the feigned speech, except a brother likewise I acquiesced in his plans as he came forth from the womb with me on that day.
19. The superintendent of the works of Amen in Southern Thebes, Suti (said) Har, I was presiding on the west (or right hand), he was on the east (or left hand). We were presiding over the great memorial monuments
20. in Apet within Uaser, Western Thebes, the No Amen (or city of Amen), thou gavest me an old age in thy city, I had through thy favours a sepulture to the west of Apt peacefully.
21. I was united with the favoured, departing in peace, for thou gave me delicious air when stopped, bearing the crown the day of the festival called *uka*.

It will be seen from this inscription that a great deal of obscurity prevails in the text itself as to the meaning of the religious formula.

A point of interest in this inscription is its having been set up for two architects, or as they are called, *mer kat*, superintendents of public works, who appear to be mentioned as early as the IIIrd dynasty. Lists of these architects have been given by Lepsius, Lieblein, and Brugsch, and have been used for tests for the length of the chronological epoch. Amongst the principal and most celebrated architects are the following:—

1. Heka,[1] architect of Senefru, king of the IIIrd dynasty.
2. Ank-kha,[2] architect of the same monarch.
3. Hanka,[3] superintendent of the Kha-mer pyramid of the same king.
4. Persen,[4] married to a princess about IIIrd dynasty.
5. Ankh-ars,[5] architect of royal works about IVth dynasty.
6. Semnefer,[6] married to a princess, same period.
7. Khufu-hotep, king's son-in-law, period of the IVth dynasty.
8. Khufu ankh, about the same period.
9. Merab, about the IVth dynasty.[7]
10. Pehenuka[8] or Ptahnuka, architect of Userskaf, king of the Vth dynasty.
11. Tii, married to Neferhotep.[9]
12. Raneka,[10] officer and architect of Tatkara, king of the Vth dynasty.
13. Ptahuash, officer and architect of the IVth or Vth dynasty.[11]

[1] Brugsch, History, p. 48.
[2] Bergmann, Samml. aegypt. Alterth. 12mo., Wien, p. 21.
[3] Lepsius, Verzeichn. d. aegypt. Alterth., k. M., Berlin, 1822, p. 4.
[4] Brugsch, p. 48.
[5] Mariette, Mastabas, p. 109.
[6] Brugsch, p. 48.
[7] This and preceding, Brugsch, Hist., p. 48.
[8] Lepsius, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.
[9] Brugsch, p. 48.
[10] De Rougé, Inscrip. copiées en Égypte, p. 91.
[11] De Rougé, p. 96.

14. Kua, an architect about that period.
15. Meri-ra-ankh, architect of the VIth dynasty.[1]
16. Ahinas,[2] architect of the same.
17. Ai,[3] architect of the same.
18. Har-khen,[4] or Khenar, architect about XIIth dynasty.
19. Kheperkara,[5] at the time of the XIIth or XIIIth dynasty.
20. Tata,[6] an architect about XIIIth or XIVth dynasties.
21. Abaa,[7] royal architect.
22. Usra,[8] architect or sculptor, XVIIIth dynasty.
23. Penaah,[9] architect of Amenophis I, Thothmes I and II.
24. Neferha,[10] architect of Thothmes III at Abydos.
25. Senmut,[11] chief architect of the queen Haséps (Hatasu).
26. Men,[12] architect of Amenophis IV at Tel-el-Amarna.
27. Amenhotep,[13] architect for temples of Ptah and Khnum.
28. Paser[14] or Paur, architect of Rameses II.
29. Raua,[15] architect of temples of Amsi (Khem) in Coptos.

Besides these is the genealogical list of architects given by Lepsius and Brugsch:—

Ka-nefer. Perhaps of the IInd dynasty.	
Imhotep, of the IIIrd dynasty.	
Ra-hotep.	
Bak-en-khonsu.	
Uta-khonsu.	
Nefer-mennu.	
Mi.	Reign of Her-hor, 1100 B.C.
Si-ur-nenen-heb.	Reign of Piankhi, 1066 B.C.

[1] Brugsch, p. 48.
[2] Lieblein, Dict., p. 9.
[3] Lieblein, Dict., p. 15.
[4] *Cf.* Tablets, 560–584, British Museum.
[5] Mariette, Abydos, p. 164.
[6] Brugsch, *loc. cit.*
[7] Mariette, Abydos, p. 310.
[8] Mariette, Abydos, p. 81.
[9] Communicated by Professor Eisenlohr.
[10] Lieblein, p. 693.
[11] Sharpe, Eg. Ins., 107.
[12] Brugsch, Wörterbuch (Supp.), p. 243.
[13] Leemans, Mon., III, pl. 1.
[14] Sharpe, Eg. Inscr., p. 2.
[15] De Rougé, p. 58.

Pepi.	Reign of Pinotem I, 1033 B.C.
Amen-hir-pi-mesha.	Menkhepera, 1000 B.C.
Har-em-saf.	
Mermer.	
Har-em-saf.	
Ta-heb (I).	
Nas-shunu (I).	
Ta-heb (II).	
Nas-shunu.	
Ta-heb.	
Nas-shunu (II).	Reign of Osorchon, 766 B.C.
Ta-heb (III).	Shashanq, 733 B.C.
Nas-shunu.	
Uah-ab-ra Ran-ur.	
Ankh-Psametik.	
Aahmes-sa-Nit.	
Chnum-ab-ra.	27th–30th Darius, 480 B.C.

THE ANTIQUITIES FOUND BY MR. H. RASSAM AT ABU-HABBAH (SIPPARA).

By Theo. G. Pinches.

Read 7th June, 1881.

The antiquities, of which the following is a description, come from a site lying, according to Mr. Rassam's statement, about 16 miles south-east of Baghdad. This site consists of two mounds, situated rather less than two miles apart, bearing respectively the names of Abu-habbah and Dair. The most important monuments come from the former, and consist of a stone about 11½ inches high by 7 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; an inscribed terra-cotta box or coffer, in which it seems to have been kept, terra-cotta moulds of a part of the stone, and two cylinders bearing a record of Nabonidus, King of Babylon.

The principal monument, which is the stone above-mentioned, contains at the top of the obverse a representation which we know, from the short inscriptions accompanying it, to be the shrine (*agû*) of the Sungod. This is a covered place, supported by pillars not unlike the Ionic in style, beneath which the god sits, holding in one hand a short wand and a circle, the latter emblematic, perhaps, of his supposed endless journey round the earth. He wears the horned cap, denoting godhood, and above him is the solar disc (his own emblem), together with the emblems of the Moongod and Ištar.

At the forepart of the top of the shrine are to be seen two small figures, holding cords, reaching down to a table beneath, on which stands the sun's disc, represented, in the usual way, with rays coming forth from the midst. The two small figures are evidently the attendants of the Sungod, who were supposed to continually guide his course. On the

TABLET OF GREY SCHIST DISCOVERED BY Mr. RASSAM AT ABOO-HABBA, 1882.

left hand three figures are shown approaching, the first, who wears a horned cap, leads the second by the hand. This represents, most likely, the leading of the king, who caused the stone to be carved, into the presence of the Sungod, the special guardian of the place.

The inscription, which covers the rest of the obverse and the whole of the reverse, begins with an invocation to the Sungod, from which we learn that Abu-habbah, and not Sefeirah, was the Sippara of the inscriptions. The inscription then goes on to say that the Sutû, "a wicked enemy," who seem to have come from the land of Akkad, had, in former times, desecrated the Temple, called Ê-bara, and carried away its properties. Simmaš-Šiġu, the king, asked that they might be returned; but this was refused, and being at the time unable, evidently, to take them by force, he was obliged to do his best to restore the shrine without them. This work of restoration was given into the hands of a certain Êkur-šuma-ibaššî, the Êbar[1] of Sippara, who bore the title [illegible] (in Akkadian *gaššu*). This man carried the work on after the death of Simmaš-Šiġu, in the reigns of his successors, Kaššû-nadin-aḫi and Ê-Ulbar-šakin-šumi. A long and difficult description of the work done in the reign of the last-mentioned king now follows, in which we are told that this king ordered an enclosure (*ginê*) for the Sungod to be made, and that it was placed "in the midst of the enclosure of Bêl." It remained, however, for Nabû-abla-iddina (the king who had the stone sculptured, and who began to reign about 880 B.C.) to completely restore the shrine. This king, in the inscription, calls himself "the proclaimed of Marduk, the beloved of Anû and Antum,[2] the gladdener of the heart of A-edina, the man, the warrior, who attained to the kingdom, the raiser of the strong bow" to punish "the wicked enemy, the Sutû, who had made their sin great" in desecrating the shrine; the king who, to do good to the land of Akkad, restored the temples and shrines, and protected the sanctuaries. After giving a long list of his own virtues,

[1] Evidently "priest," the word Êbar being replaced, in the 16th line of Col. II, by the word [illegible] *šangu*, "priest."

[2] The wife of Anu, the heaven-god, here expressed by the characters [illegible]

Nabû-abla-iddina states that he gave the care of the shrine of the Sungod, and the sculpturing of this stone,[1] into the hands of the seed of Êkur-šuma-ibaššî. The shrine was adorned with the image of the god, and with chased gold and bright crystal, and the king, by the favour of Hea and Marduk, "cleansed his mouth"[2] before the Sungod in Bît-Karzaginna, beside the Euphrates, and founded there a seat for the god, where victims were offered, and gifts of honey and wine bestowed.

The inscription, which now again becomes very difficult, speaks of the services of the temple, of the sacrifices to be made therein, and of certain gifts of clothing and vestments given by the king—for the 7th of Nisan the vestment of glory for the 10th of Iyyar the vestment of glory, for the third of Elul the vestment of the service of the house (*i.e.*, temple), for the 7th of Tisri the same, for the 15th of Marchiswan the vestment of glory, and for the 15th of Adar the vestment of the service of the house—"altogether 6 bright coloured vestments of *kalmu*, the gift of the king."

As it happened, there was a man in Sippara, who bore the title of *gaššu*, of the same name as the king himself. To him, therefore, with four others, the care of the stone was entrusted, on the 20th of Nisan, in the 31st year of Nabû-apla-iddina, king of Babylon. A copy also was to be made. The inscription ends by asking that whoever after this king should dwell as a ruler in the Palace, and should take this stone and give it to another, or should take it for himself, and destroy the stone with a wicked incantation or spell, might be destroyed, both name and seed, by the word of Šamaš and Aa (the Sungod and the Moongod), "the lords of judgment, the great gods."

Here the inscription ends, and we know nothing more of the history of the temple until the time of Nabopolassar, about 620 B.C. This king had a terra-cotta trough or box made for the stone, bearing on each side the words "the image of Šamaš, the great lord, dwelling in Ê-bara," and some moulds, evidently to preserve the representation if the

[1] Here called *ṣalmu*, "image," or "representation."

[2] *Pî-šu imsi*, a metaphorical expression, perhaps for "to say pious things of."

original should be destroyed, were made of the upper part of the obverse. The back of this mould contains the record of the restoration by Nabopolassar. About 130 years later, Nabonidus also restored the temple, and placed in its foundations the two terra-cotta cylinders before-mentioned, recording the event.

This shrine of the Sungod at Sippara was held in very great estimation by the Babylonians, and in nearly every inscription the god is called "Šamaš, the great lord, dwelling in Ê-bara, which is within Sipar." One of the most beautiful hymns to the Sungod, which is preserved on a small tablet from Babylon, speaks of him under the distinctive title of "Lord of Ê-bara." The whole runs as follows:—

ENGLISH VERSION.

"O Sungod in the midst of heaven, in thy setting may the bolts of the high heavens speak peace to thee,
may the door of the heavens be propitious to thee,
may Mîšaru (the director), thy beloved attendant, guide thee.
At Ê-bara, the seat of thy lordship, thy supremacy shines forth.
May Aa, thy beloved wife, gladly come to meet thee,
May thy restgiving heart rest,
May the glory(?) of thy godhood dwell with thee.
O warrior, hero, Sungod, may they glorify thee.
O lord of Ê-bara, may he (the messenger) direct thy straight path.
O Sungod, make thy path straight, a straight road for thy beams(?) to go.
O Sungod, who judgest the country, of her decisions the director art thou." [1]

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[1]

AKKADIAN VERSION.	ASSYRIAN VERSION.
(An) Babara, ana šaga-šu tutuda-zu-ne	Šamaš, ana kirib šamê ina êribi-ka
(giš) sigar azaga ana-kit salîma ǵumurabbi	šikar šamê êllûtum sulma liḳbû-ḳu
giš-gal ana-kit mu-ǵumurabgin	dalat šamê likrubâ-ḳu
dingir nig sisa, laǵa kiaga-zu si-gumurabsusae	Mîšarum, sukkallum naram-ka lištêšir-ḳu

The Sungod, the Moongod, and the Firegod were the three "lords of justice," "deciders of decisions" (*paris purussē*), amongst whom, however, the Sungod seems to have the first place. The consort of the Sungod was [illegible] (*ilu*) Aa, most likely a name of the moon when in a certain part of her course. The messenger or director mentioned in the above text is most likely one of the small figures at the top of the shrine directing the course of the sun.

To the Sungod were given all the most poetical expressions that could be found. He it was who, when dawning in the foundation of heaven, drew the bolts of the high heavens, and, the door having turned, he lifted his head to the land, covering heaven and earth with glory.[1] He was the god who directed constantly in heaven, the law within the ears of

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AKKADIAN VERSION—*continued.*	ASSYRIAN VERSION—*continued.*
Ê-bara ki-nam-lugala-zu-šu nam-maġa-zu sig-ênib	ana Ê-bara šubat bêlūti-ka ṣirūt-ka šûpi
(dingir) Ku-nir-da nitalam kiaga-zu ġulabi ġimundagigi	(ilu) Aa, ḫirtum naramta-ka ḫadiš limaḫḫir-ka
šaga-zu asada ġamantuga	libba-ka nêḫtum liniḫ
kisig nam-dingira-zu ġumurangaga	naptan ilūti-ka[2] lišśakin-ku[3]
ursag, duna, (dingir) Babara melig (?) ġi-ii	Ḳarradu, êtlum, (ilu) Šamaš litta'idu-ka !
ama Êbara gina-giri-zu si-ġimsa	Bêl Ê-bara âlik padan-ka lîšir !
(dingir) Babara, kaskalâ-zu si-sab, ġarran gina kiuri-zu-šu duna	(Šamaš), ḫarran-ka šûšir, urḫa kînam ana durušši-ka âlik !
(dingir) Babara, kalama-ka dikud-ka ašbar-bi (si-sabi) zaemen	(Šamaš), ša mâti dâan, ša purussē ša muštêšir-ša atta !

The following Colophon is added to one of the copies :

Ana (ilu) Nabî bêli-šu, (ilu) Nabûbalaṭ-su-iḳbî, abil Ê-sagilāa, ana balaṭ napšāti-šu (ilu) Nabû-êpiš-âḫî abil Ê-sagilāa ušēšṭir-ma ina Ê-zida ukîn.	"*Nabûbalatsuiḳbî son of the Ésagilite has caused Nabûêpišâhî son of the Ésagilite to write* (*this tablet*) *to the god Nebo his lord for the saving of his life, and has placed* (*it*) *in Ê-zida.*"

[1] W.A.I. IV. 20, No. 2 : 1. (ilu) Šamaš, ina îšid šamê tappuḫamma ; 2. šigar šamê êllūti taptî ; 3. dalat šamê taptâ ; 4. (ilu) Šamaš, ana mâti rêši-ka tašśâ ; 5. (ilu) Šamaš, melamme šamê matāte taktum :—"*Sungod, in the foundation of heaven thou dawnest, and* 2. *the bolts of the high heavens thou openest* 3. *the door of heaven turns ;* 4. *Sungod, thou raisest thy head to the lands, and, thou coverest heaven and earth with glory.*"

[2] Variant *ilūt-ka.* [3] Variant *ka.*

the lands, knowing justice and evil. He was the supreme judge of heaven and earth, the helper of the gods Anû and Bêl.

In other places he is called "the light of all above and all below," "the light of the great gods." Prayers were addressed to him for guidance: "O Sungod, thou also knowest their (the land's) bonds, destroying evil ..... direct what comes forth from my mouth, direct also my hands."

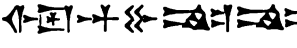
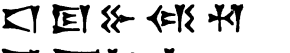
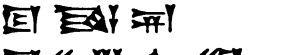
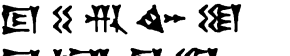
The month Tisri was dedicated to the Sungod. The 23rd day of Elul also was a festival to Šamaš and Rammanu (perhaps to commemorate their standing side by side when the seven evil spirits tried to darken the moon). This was a fortunate day. The king was directed to devote all his good things to Šamaš and Rimmon, and a victim was to be sacrificed.

Our new inscription is of great value for Babylonian chronology, in that it names, almost in one sentence, three kings, namely: Simmaš-Šiġu, Kaššû-nadin-aḫi, and Ê-Ulbar-šakin-šumi, who, we know from the list published by Mr. Smith, in the 3rd volume of the "Transactions," reigned in very close succession.

Now there is in the British Museum a stone dated in the reign of the first of these three kings (Simmaš-Šiġu), the style of the writing of which is almost the same as that of the present inscription. As Nabû-abla-iddin reigned about 880 B.C., these three kings could scarcely have reigned more than a hundred years earlier—that is, about five hundred years later than was originally supposed. The chronology of that most important period of Babylonia's history will be fully considered, however, in the paper upon the lists of Babylonian kings, of which the substance has already been given in the "Proceedings."

The words used in part of the inscription referring to the gifts of vestments by the king being most interesting, it would be well, perhaps, erroneous renderings of these passages having been published, to reproduce here the whole passage. It is as follows:—

COLUMN V. (Reverse).

39.
40.
41. 
42. 
43. 
44. 
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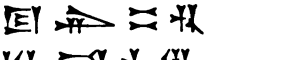
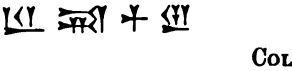
46. 
47. 
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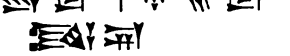
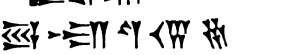
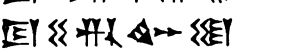
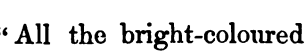
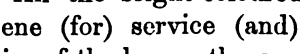
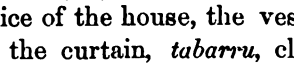
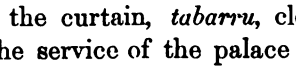
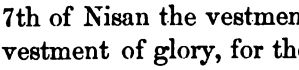
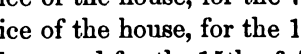
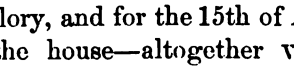
49. 
50. 
51. 
52. 
53. 
54. 
55. 

COLUMN VI.

1. 
2.
3. 
4. 
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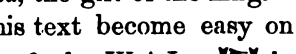
6. 

"All the bright-coloured vestments of Šamaš, Aa, and Bunene (for) service (and) worship; the vestment of the service of the house, the vestment of glory, the vestment of joy, the curtain, *tabarru*, cloth, purple cloth, the vestment of the service of the palace and the place of worship. For the 7th of Nisan the vestment of glory, for the 10th of Iyyar the vestment of glory, for the 3rd of Elul the vestment of the service of the house, for the 7th of Tisri the vestment of the service of the house, for the 15th of Marcheswan the vestment of glory, and for the 15th of Adar the vestment of the service of the house—altogether VI bright-coloured vestments of *kalmu*, the gift of the king." Many of the most difficult words in this text become easy on referring to pl. 34 of the 2nd Vol. of the W.A.I. is the ordinary ideograph for *kému*,

"cloth," *ṣubatu*, "cloak," "vestment." The usual meaning of the character 𒀭𒊩𒌆 is *damḳu*, "lucky," "fortunate," but, upon the above-named page we find (line 65) the characters 𒀭𒊩 𒁹𒌆 𒊩𒌆 𒁹𒌆 (to be pronounced *kur šâ*) explained by the Assyrian *naṣrāptum*, a Niphal form from the Assyrian root *ṣarāpu*, the meaning of which has been well explained by Dr. Lotz in his "Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I," as "to colour.' *Naṣraptu* means, therefore, "of a bright colour," and the meaning "lucky" of the Akkadian sign 𒀭𒊩𒁹𒌆 (in Babylonian 𒀭𒊩𒌆) is also made quite clear. The original signification of the character was, most likely, "bright-coloured," and from this idea of a bright, pleasant colour came that of "happiness," "fortune," "luck." 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 is the equivalent of the Assyrian word *kâlu*, "all," with the adverbial ending 𒁹𒌆 = Assyrian *kâliš*. 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 is the usual ideograph for *tukultu*, "service" (also *kakku*, "weapon"). 𒁹𒌆 is also a character meaning "service," in Ass. *âbuttu* = *âbudtu*, from the root עבד. 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 *šeri'tu* seems to be a word borrowed from the Akkadian *šir* (a value of 𒁹𒌆) "brightness," "glory," which will be found on the above-mentioned plate (l. 53), explained by *ṣiriptum ša* . . . "bright colour of . . . ." Other values of 𒁹𒌆, pronounced *sir* or *šir*, are *kakasiga*, "brightness," and *namāru*, "to be bright." 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 *Ḫullatu*, "joy," is a Semiticised form of the Akk. *ḫulla*, the pure Assyrian word being *ḫidûtu*. *Nibiḫu* seems, from a parallel passage, to mean something that is suspended—a curtain or drapery. The next two lines are too difficult to explain. 𒁹𒌆 𒁹𒌆 *têlit*, is the const. case of *têltu* (from *têlu*), evidently a synonym of *tupḳu*. Both *têltu* and *tupḳu* translate the Akkadian 𒁹𒌆 *ub*. *Karibi*, from the root קרב, "to approach," "worship," "be gracious." The meaning of the word *kalmu* is unknown.

The above translation is given with some reserve, as many of the words are most unusual, and the sense, therefore, not easy to determine.

RECENT DISCOVERIES OF ANCIENT BABYLONIAN CITIES.

By H. Rassam.

Read 6th March, 1883.

Since I had the honour of reading a paper before you, about my discoveries in Assyria in 1854 and in 1878, I have been out twice to Mesopotamia on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, and conducted on a more extensive scale the national archæological researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Armenia. But as I was more successful in the last two expeditions to Babylonia, I gave more attention to our works in the last named tract of country than to those in other localities.

Doubtless most of you have heard of my fortunate discovery of the city of Sippara, which is identified with the Sepharvaim of the Bible; but as some of you may not have heard it, I will relate it as a curious illustration of the way ancient cities are found. Whenever I proceed on any archæological mission, my first endeavour is directed to finding new unexplored sites, as I feel that our old haunts in Assyria and Babylonia are quite secure under competent overseers, which can be well managed under my supervision and control when I am away from the place. I generally visit the different explorations at varied intervals, to see that everything is going on properly, and when the excavations are found to be progressing satisfactorily, I proceed to other localities to try new spots which indicate an ancient habitation.

The year before last, while on my way to Babylon from Baghdad, I happened to be spending a night at an Arab's

house in a village called Mahmoodia, about fifteen miles to the south-west of Baghdad, where I generally halted on the route to Babylon. As my host knew what I was searching for, especially as I had a number of workmen digging in the mounds in the vicinity, and he had seen some objects on which cuneiform characters were inscribed, he told me that when he was escorting a wedding party northward, he had picked up a piece of an inscribed brick at a place called Dair, which he brought to show me. I saw that the writing was like that generally found in Babylonia on bricks upon which the name of Nebuchadnezzar is inscribed. I lost no time in accompanying him to the spot to find out if there were sufficient signs of an old city to warrant an excavation being commenced. The place was not more than six miles from the village of Mahmoodia; but as the Euphrates had at that time inundated all the fields between it and Dair, so preventing us from going direct, we had to go a roundabout way—which turned out very fortunate,—for when we arrived within four miles of the place, we passed an extensive mound surrounded with a high earth wall, indicating an old Babylonian city. I thought at first that this was the ruin to which my Arab friend was leading me, but was soon undeceived by his pointing out another to me, which lay to the east of us, with its high wall looming in the distance. The place, I was told, was called Aboo-habba, which means either the father of a promontory or of a kiss; and as I could see ample indications of an old Babylonian city, I dismounted, made a good examination of the mound, and found to my great delight a large number of broken inscribed bricks scattered all over the place. Had there been any workmen with me, I should have placed, then and there, three or four gangs in the different parts where it seemed likely ancient remains would be found. We then went on to Dair; but though I found I was not deceived by my guide, yet after seeing Aboo-habba, this ancient ruin of Dair seemed quite unimportant in comparison, as the sequel will show. The difficulty was the finding of workmen in the neighbourhood, as the Arabs of the place asked more exorbitant wages than I could possibly allow—not that I

could not afford to employ a few workmen on a high scale of pay, but was obliged to keep to a certain standard for fear of dissatisfaction in other quarters. When such difficulties arose, I generally brought the required number of workmen from other diggings, by giving them an extra allowance for what was called "special service." These men did not only work for the time being, but showed new hands how the work was to be carried on. In most instances the old hands served as superior workmen or diggers, receiving according to rule better pay. Whenever a new place is opened, I am invariably asked more than double the pay that I am able or willing to allow, as the Arabs have an absurd idea that the English are made of money, and have the art of turning dust into gold! In this instance I brought two gangs of workmen from Babylon, headed by an Arab overseer, and as I had first to try two mounds situated on the high road to Karbela (the sacred place of the Shea Moslems), and within half-a-mile of the village of Mahmoodia, we were able to induce some of the poor wayfarers to accept service under us. The bait was tried with effect in the following manner. Thousands of Moslem devotees, especially the Shea sect, visit the shrine of Hosain at Karbela the whole year round, and as some of the pilgrims are very poor, large numbers of them subsist by begging. Some of these visited the excavations on their way, and as a great number of them were almost starving, I told the head overseer, who was a Seyid, or descendant of the Prophet, to offer them food and money on condition they assisted in the digging. Many of them who were Kurds accepted the offer with thankfulness, and before many days were over I had a good number in my employ. No sooner did the neighbouring Arabs see that I was able easily to obtain the workmen required, than they consented to work at the rate I first offered them, and soon after I could employ as many workmen as were required for less than half the amount they demanded when I first went to the place.

As the site of Aboo-habba seemed to me a most promising one for extensive operations, I moved my head-quarters thither to superintend the works in person. At the mound

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BABYLONIAN OBJECTS FROM ABOO-HABBA.

itself there were no Arabs residing, but within a mile of the place there is a mausoleum of the patron saint of the neighbourhood, called Seyid Abdallah, and near which the guardian of the shrine and his near relations dwelt. I had my camp pitched near his, and to make him interested in our work I appointed him an overseer, and offered his brothers and connections good berths, which they accepted most willingly.

It was agreed afterwards that I should build rooms at the entrance of the mosque for the overseers and antiquities, and I was even allowed to occupy a room adjoining the shrine for storing the plant of the diggings, and any objects which could not be packed up at once.

No sooner was this done, than hundreds of the neighbouring Arabs began to apply for work, and, according to my usual practice, I employed some from each tribe. As Dair was also far away from an inhabited place, I had to send workmen to dig there from Seyid Abdallah, but had soon to give that up, as I found scarcely any good sign of ancient remains to warrant the work being carried on in that locality. At Aboo-habba, however, I was rewarded, after three days' trial, by one of the gangs coming upon the wall of a chamber, on examining which I could see it belonged to the old Babylonian style of building. This success encouraged me to prosecute the research with uninterrupted perseverance, and before many days were over we came upon other buildings in different parts of the mound, but with the exception of some dilapidated inscribed unbaked clay tablets, glass bottles, and other small objects, nothing was found of any historical value. This did not discourage me, but, on the contrary, it made me work with redoubled energy, and very soon afterwards we came upon a chamber paved with asphalt, which proved to contain the history of the new city I had discovered. Heretofore all Assyrian and Babylonian structures were found to be paved generally either with stone or brick, consequently this novel discovery led me to have the asphalt broken into and examined. On doing so we found, buried in a corner of the chamber, about three feet below the surface, an inscribed earthenware coffer, inside which was deposited a stone tablet covered with an inscription, on the top of which was

represented some deity which has since been identified by Assyrian scholars with the sun-god; also two figures above, holding an emblem of the sun before him, and two priests leading a youth, evidently a prince, to present to him. With this tablet I found two perfect terra-cotta inscribed cylinders, covered minutely with an inscription: but as Mr. Pinches has already given you an account of them, and as I cannot boast of knowing anything of cuneiform writing, I must confine myself to an account of my several discoveries. In the same casket was found two burnt-clay moulds representing the impress of the aforementioned bas-relief, which looked as if they were made for the purpose of moulding in metal a number of these mystic designs for either breastplates or religious use.

I have been puzzled to determine why these relics were buried in asphalt pavement, because, if those who hid them there wished to preserve them from destruction from the enemy, they could not have placed them in a more conspicuous place; a man who is accustomed to the mode of Assyrian paving could not help noticing the difference. This discovery at the outset was most fortunate, as it proved to us the exact site of the temple and city of Sippara. Different savants and historians supposed it to be in other parts of Babylonia, immediately on the banks of the Euphrates, but now we are certain of the exact spot being on the great historical canal of Babylonia, called Nahr-malka, or the royal river, about six miles from the Euphrates, but its source about twenty miles westward. This canal was the wonder of the age when the Babylonian kingdom was at the zenith of its power, as it must have been about one hundred and fifty miles in length, and bridged over in many places. Xenophon tells us that the Greeks had to cross it on bridges made of palm-trees when they were retreating northwards after the death of Cyrus. It ran from the Euphrates as far as Aboo-habba, when it divides; the main body passes Dair, and runs in an easterly direction as far as Shat-el-hai, passing within a few miles of Seleucia and Ctesephon; the other part takes a more southerly direction nearer the Euphrates, passing through endless cities, one of which is supposed to be Cuthah, known by the Arabs as Tel-Ibraheem. The remains of the

former are now called Yosephia, and the latter Habl-Ibraheem. Both these canals are crossed by wayfarers who travel between Baghdad and Hillah, in the vicinity of Babylon, and between the former place and Musayib, on the way to Karbela.

It is most interesting to examine this canal all the way between the Euphrates and the Tigris, because a traveller cannot help being struck with the remains of its former grandeur, when it must have irrigated hundreds of miles of alluvial soil.

On all sides are found remains of innumerable small watercourses which were fed by these two grand canals; and at different intervals remains of prodigious basins are seen, in which a surplus supply must have been kept for any emergency, when the water in the Euphrates falls low, especially in summer. It is said that there were two Sipparas in Babylonia, the one which I discovered was for the worship of the sun, and the other for the worship of the moon. They were represented as being situated on either side of the river Euphrates, and as my Sippara is not on the bank of that river, and there is no sign of any important ruin on its western side, I consider that Nahr-malka was meant by the word "Nahr,"[1] as it divides Aboo-habba from Dair, which I believe to be the site of the Sippara of the moon-god.

In the course of last year we discovered off and on, especially in one room, between forty and fifty thousand inscribed clay tablets; but unfortunately they were not baked, as they generally are found in Assyria, and the clay of which they were made was so coarse that as soon as they were exposed to the air they crumbled to pieces. We found that the only way to preserve them was to have them baked, which we did with success. Fortunately, the most important documents were inscribed on terra-cotta cylinders, of which were found a great number of different sizes and shapes. Mr. Pinches has already given an account of one of them belonging to the reign of Nabonidus; and I hope, as soon as he can find time, he will give us the benefit of his studies.

The style of the architecture of Aboo-habba is quite different from that found in Babylonia or Nineveh; and from

[1] Nahr means in Semitic languages both river and canal.

all I could make out, it seems to me that Sippara of the sun-god was divided into two distinct buildings, one for religious purposes, and the other as a place of habitation for priests and royalty. Each block of building was surrounded by a breast-work, faced in some places with kiln-burnt bricks to make the building more secure. Both the temple and its environs must have been inhabited by two distinct peoples, because the height of the original rooms was twenty-five feet, but the later occupants of the place seem to have had the rooms filled up with *débris* as far as the middle, and then had them paved, making it appear as if the latter was the original height. It was in this manner that I found the room in which was discovered the asphalt pavement.

In the room next to that in which were found the records of the temple, we came upon a solid platform built most securely of kiln-burnt bricks and bitumen. It was twenty feet square by twenty-five feet high, facing the entrance of the room which was asphalted. I had the platform partially broken into and examined, in the hope of discovering some ancient record buried in it, but there was no sign of any object of interest found. It was so difficult to break, that the different workmen had to take the task by turns, and the labour was so great that we were not able to make a thorough search. I still think that if that huge platform or altar were thoroughly examined, there would be found in it some historical record.

The mound on which the buildings of Aboo-habba are erected is about 1,300 in length by 400 feet in width, containing, according to my reckoning, at least 300 chambers and halls. Of these I have only been able to excavate about 130, as our explorations have been put a stop to by the Turkish Government refusing to grant us another firman for the continuation of our researches in Assyria and Babylonia.

It must not be thought that the excavations were carried on at Sippara without much trouble and annoyance: on the contrary, I was threatened on three different occasions by the part owners of the mound with pains and penalties if I did not stop the work. When I first began, I was very nearly stopped by an official from carrying on the necessary operations, on

the plea that I had no business to dig in a place which belonged to the crown; and when the finding of the coffer was reported in the local Arabic paper of Baghdad, where it was mentioned that I had unearthed most unique antiquities, "more precious than gems," I was called upon by a Moslem family at Baghdad to restore to them what I had discovered in their land; and they went so far as to threaten me with an action if I did not satisfy them. I learned afterwards that an European who dealt in antiquities at Baghdad had upbraided them for their stupidity in allowing the English to carry away valuable antiquities from their domain, and with which he assured them they could enrich themselves for ever. This family had done good service to the local Baghdad government in days gone by, and the Governor General at that time had presented them with half the produce of the cultivation of the Mahmoodia district in which the mound of Aboo-habba was situated. It was a known fact that though this favoured family had been holding half of the land in fee-simple for the last seventy or eighty years, they had not been able to cultivate one-eighth of it on account of the expense of irrigation; and as for the mound of Aboo-habba, it was literally impossible to bring it under cultivation, as it was about forty feet above the level of the Mahmoodia canal. However, they were right in saying that it was not in my province to tell them what they were to do with it, because if they chose they might build a village on it; and on this account I had to come to terms with them, to enable me to go on with the researches without the unpleasantness of going to law, as I knew that the authorities would back them up for the purpose of stopping our work altogether. Fortunately they were very intimately connected with some of my Baghdad friends, who dissuaded them from appealing to the authorities, and managed to settle the matter between us amicably. Afterwards I heard that the present Sultan had purchased with other waste lands in Babylonia, the remaining half-share of the Mahmoodia crown land; the consequence was, that I was soon made to understand that my firman only permitted me to excavate in lands where I had satisfied the proprietor

and on this ground the imperial commissioners began to inquire by what right digging was carried on at Aboo-habba without their special permission, and they consulted how they might successfully stop the work. At last one night I was awoke, after I had gone to bed, by the arrival of a large number of horsemen in our camp, headed by the agent of the Imperial land property of Mahmoodia, bringing me a letter to read, which he had received from the Royal Commissioners, wherein it was asked by what authority I was digging at Aboo-habba, and who gave me that authority. He was at the same time ordered not to allow any one to dig in royal lands without the special sanction of the Royal Commissioners; but fortunately there was no mention made that the excavations should be stopped altogether at Aboo-habba. The Imperial agent, however, begged me to try and obtain the sanction of the Royal Commissioners, in order that he might not get into trouble himself. On this account I had to write to the Governor General about the matter, as the firman was addressed to him; and besides, I had been recommended by the Sublime Porte to his good offices. He replied that he could not interfere in the matter, and referred me to the Royal Commissioners for settlement, which, he said, could only be done by my satisfying them. How I was to do this was the difficulty, because satisfying a needy landlord with a few piastres was one thing, and satisfying a royal dignitary was another; and whether it was fortunate or unfortunate, I was not enlightened on the subject, and went on digging for nearly two months afterwards, until our explorations in Assyria and Babylonia came to a stand-still on account of the term of the last firman having expired. The Commissioners could not meet for a long time on account of sickness amongst their members, and when they ultimately did so, they found it was no use re-opening a delicate subject, when they were certain that all our operations would die a natural death by the expiration of the permit; hence I was left in peace, until I closed our different operations at the end of July last.

I believe when Cyrus the younger marched through Mahmoodia with the Grecian auxiliaries, about four hundred years before the Christian era, to combat his brother, the great

King Artaxerxes, Sippara could not have been in existence, because Xenophon does not make any mention of it in his Anabasis. It is very unlikely that such an important city could have been unnoticed, especially as the troops must have passed through it, or very near it, both before and after the battle of Cunaxa. Conflicting opinions are given by different travellers as to the supposed site of that battle-field, where the ambitious Cyrus, the son of Darius II, met with his death. I am at a loss to understand how any travellers visiting the part of Babylonia that lies between the town of Musayib and Aboó-habba, could ever doubt the site on which that memorable engagement took place. Xenophon relates[1] that "when the Greeks saw their enemies close at hand, and drawn up for fight, they again sang the pæan, and advanced upon them with much greater spirit than before. The barbarians [that is to say the royalists], on the other hand, did not await their onset, but fled sooner than at first, and the Greeks pursued them as far as a certain village, where they halted; for above the village was a hill, upon which the king's troops had checked their flight, and though there were no longer any infantry there, the height was filled with cavalry, so that the Greeks could not tell what was doing. They said that they saw the royal standard, a golden eagle upon a spear, with expanded wings."

This site has been disputed, because "a hill" is mentioned in it; and some commentators have gone so far as to assert that because there are no natural hills in the plains of Babylonia, Xenophon must have meant one of those numerous artificial mounds which abound in Southern Mesopotamia. I am still more surprised at finding the following opinion given by the well-known geographer Mr. William F. Ainsworth, in his commentary on the Anabasis of Xenophon on this part of Babylonia.[2] He says, "the night of the battle, the Greeks pursued the Persians as far as a certain village, where they halted; for above the village was a hill, upon which the king's troops had checked their flight. The hill here alluded to appears to have been one of the

[1] Anabasis, B. I, ch. 10 to 12

[2] Bohn's edition, p. 295.

all I could make out, it seems to me that Sippara of the sun-god was divided into two distinct buildings, one for religious purposes, and the other as a place of habitation for priests and royalty. Each block of building was surrounded by a breast-work, faced in some places with kiln-burnt bricks to make the building more secure. Both the temple and its environs must have been inhabited by two distinct peoples, because the height of the original rooms was twenty-five feet, but the later occupants of the place seem to have had the rooms filled up with *débris* as far as the middle, and then had them paved, making it appear as if the latter was the original height. It was in this manner that I found the room in which was discovered the asphalt pavement.

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It must not be thought that the excavations were carried on at Sippara without much trouble and annoyance: on the contrary, I was threatened on three different occasions by the part owners of the mound with pains and penalties if I did not stop the work. When I first began, I was very nearly stopped by an official from carrying on the necessary operations, on

the plea that I had no business to dig in a place which belonged to the crown; and when the finding of the coffer was reported in the local Arabic paper of Baghdad, where it was mentioned that I had unearthed most unique antiquities, "more precious than gems," I was called upon by a Moslem family at Baghdad to restore to them what I had discovered in their land; and they went so far as to threaten me with an action if I did not satisfy them. I learned afterwards that an European who dealt in antiquities at Baghdad had upbraided them for their stupidity in allowing the English to carry away valuable antiquities from their domain, and with which he assured them they could enrich themselves for ever. This family had done good service to the local Baghdad government in days gone by, and the Governor General at that time had presented them with half the produce of the cultivation of the Mahmoodia district in which the mound of Aboo-habba was situated. It was a known fact that though this favoured family had been holding half of the land in fee-simple for the last seventy or eighty years, they had not been able to cultivate one-eighth of it on account of the expense of irrigation; and as for the mound of Aboo-habba, it was literally impossible to bring it under cultivation, as it was about forty feet above the level of the Mahmoodia canal. However, they were right in saying that it was not in my province to tell them what they were to do with it, because if they chose they might build a village on it; and on this account I had to come to terms with them, to enable me to go on with the researches without the unpleasantness of going to law, as I knew that the authorities would back them up for the purpose of stopping our work altogether. Fortunately they were very intimately connected with some of my Baghdad friends, who dissuaded them from appealing to the authorities, and managed to settle the matter between us amicably. Afterwards I heard that the present Sultan had purchased with other waste lands in Babylonia, the remaining half-share of the Mahmoodia crown land; the consequence was, that I was soon made to understand that my firman only permitted me to excavate in lands where I had satisfied the proprietors;

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for two years to go and examine this mound, but the difficulties were the want of water and finding workmen to venture so far away from any inhabited place. I at last managed to induce some of the Babylonian and Birs Nimroud workmen to accompany me thither for three or four weeks; and most fortunately when the time came that I could go there to superintend the work in person, the Tigris rose unusually high, and inundated the country to within half-a-mile of the mound, which enabled us to have a regular supply of water as long as we were working there. I of course did not care to drink that water, as it looked anything but tempting, so once a week sent and got some water for myself from the Mahaweel-Euphrates canal, about six miles to the south-west. I found an old well there which had been filled up with sand, and as its water might possibly prove of use in case I wished to prolong our stay there, I had it cleared out: but it proved to be somewhat brackish; we were, however, able to use it for cooking and washing purposes. I managed to induce some of my workmen to take their families with them; and as soon as we reached Tel-Ibraheem, I had the tumbled-down sanctum of the Father of the Faithful swept out and repaired, and it afterwards served as shelter for the bachelor workmen on cold nights. We were very much tried while we were there by the constant sand storms that blew in the day time. On several occasions the dust was so thick that I could not see the tents of my followers, nor dared to go out of my tent; and once the atmosphere was so thick with it that our water-carriers lost their way, and could not find the mound until the storm subsided. I had for hours to sit still with my eyes closed, without attempting to do anything, much less to open my mouth for the purpose of eating and drinking, as I should have been choked with sand. In the several excavations I found very little of ancient relics to warrant me to remain longer than a month, during which time we discovered a few clay tablets inscribed with cuneiform and bowls with Hebrew and Syro-Chaldean characters. In one part of the mound, after having penetrated about twenty feet below the surface, we came upon an ancient edifice, the walls of which seemed

as if they had been built a short time ago. As we had to dig in some places about thirty feet before we came to the bottom of the chambers, I was obliged, for the sake of saving time and expense, to work by tunnelling. From the nature of the soil found in these chambers, it seemed to me that this structure was never inhabited, but the owner, whoever he may have been, must have abandoned it before it was roofed, and ordered it to be filled in after it was built. This mound is about two miles in circumference, and about sixty feet high; and although I had no less than twenty tunnels and trenches opened in it, there were no signs discovered in it to show me that it belonged to the early Babylonian period. It is true that we found some kiln-burnt bricks like those usually found at Babylonia with the name of Nebuchadnezzar on them, yet I do not think this place was of much importance at the time of that monarch. I have no doubt, however, that in later days it must have been a very flourishing place, because unmistakable remains extend for miles around, which indicate that the city and its surroundings were thickly inhabited. Had my firman been renewed, and if I could have afforded to spend a hundred pounds upon making another trial in the same mound, I should certainly have attempted another expedition to it, though I might have been buried in the sand again!

After this I tried other mounds between Tel-Ibraheem and Babylon, but without any success, except at a small mound called Elgarainee, where we found some inscribed clay tablets. The last mentioned mound, which is about five miles to the N.N.W. of Babylon, and about two miles to the S.E. of the Mahaweel canal, must have been one of the entrances to the outskirts of the great city. In that part of Babylon called Imjaileeba we have always been finding records of the past; but the more I dig there, the more puzzled I am what to make of it. With the exception of half a dozen rooms I discovered on the borders of what was once a grand palace of the kings of Babylon, where Belshazzar was supposed to have lost his life when the capital of Chaldea was captured by Cyrus, I could find no regular structure to enable me to identify any part of the different buildings which must

have existed at the time. The whole place seemed to have been upheaved or overthrown by an earthquake or by some other supernatural destruction. In some places objects of antiquity were found almost within a foot of the surface, and in other parts, not more than a few yards further, we come upon Babylonian relics almost as deep as the former foundation. At one time I thought I had hit upon some ancient walls to enable me to penetrate with a definite aim into the interior of a regular building, but was soon doomed to be disappointed, because what I thought at first sight to be a regular Babylonian building, was found afterwards to have belonged to a ruder period, when the Parthians occupied the country. The ruins in that part of Babylon which is called Omran, are still more mysterious to me, because while the southern extremity of the mound contained evident signs of Babylonian remains, the northern part is an accumulation of ashes, bones, and other rubbish, and there was not a sign in it to give me reason to believe that it contained any ruins of the great city. I dug in some places more than forty feet, as far as the water, and yet not a single object of antiquity was found. Every time I returned to that country I did all in my power to trace the original outskirts of the city, but the more I tried to come to any definite result, the more I was confounded: and so with regard to the discussion about the topography of Babylon between Mr. Rich and Major Rennell, which increased my difficulty not a little, and whether I followed the theory of one or the other, I felt that I was driven nowhere.

The only positions which can now be fixed upon with any accuracy are, I think, the palace of the kings of Babylon, called Kasr or Imjaileeba, the temple of Belus, known as Birs Nimroud, and the hanging gardens, which the Arabs call Babel, but which Rich and other travellers erroneousiy styled "Kasir." In the latter ruin, which is the next highest mound to Birs in Babylon, have been found four most elegantly-built wells of reddish stone, three placed parallel, and within a few feet of each other, in the northern centre of the mound, the fourth some distance away. They are so scientifically built that it vexes one to see the Arabs breaking them for

the sake of making lime of the stone, which has been brought from a great distance. Each stone, about three feet in thickness, had been bored, and made to fit the one below it so exactly that one would imagine that the whole well was hewn out of one solid rock. These wells are connected with a subterraneous arched vault communicating with an aqueduct supplied with water from the Euphrates; and when I had one of them cleared of the *débris* down to the bottom, we came to water.

What I wanted to be convinced of more than anything else was the exact time the Euphrates ran through the city, as Herodotus makes an allusion to it in the following words:—"Queen Nitocris enclosed herself therefore with these defences by digging, and immediately afterwards made the following addition. As the city consisted of two divisions, which were separated by the river, during the reign of former kings, when any one had occasion to cross from one division to the other he was obliged to cross in a boat, and this, in my opinion, was very troublesome; she therefore provided for this, for after she had dug the reservoir for the lake, she left this other monument built by similar toil: she had large blocks of stone cut, and when they were ready, and the place was completely dug out, she turned the whole stream of the river into the place she had dug. While this was filled, and the ancient channel had become dry, in the first place she lined with burnt bricks the banks of the river throughout the city, and the descents that lead from the gates to the river, in the same manner as the walls. In the next place, about the middle of the city, she built a bridge with the stones she had prepared, and bound them together with plates of lead and iron. Upon these stones she laid during the day square planks of timber, on which the Babylonians might pass over; but at night these planks were removed, to prevent people from coming by night and robbing one another. When the hollow that was dry had become a lake filled by the river, and the bridge was finished, she brought back the river to its ancient channel from the lake. And thus the excavations having been turned into a marsh, appeared to answer the purpose

for which it was made, and a bridge was built for the use of the inhabitants."[1]

In another place Herodotus mentions that Cyrus "having stationed the bulk of his army near the passage of the river where it enters Babylon, and again having stationed another division beyond the city where the river makes its exit, he gave orders to his forces to enter the city as soon as they should see the stream fordable. Having thus stationed his forces, and given the directions, he himself marched away with the ineffective part of his army; and having come to the lake, Cyrus did the same with respect to the river and the lake as the queen of the Babylonians had done. For having diverted the river by means of a canal into the lake, which was before a swamp, he made the ancient channel fordable by the sinking of the river. When this took place, the Persians who were appointed to that purpose close to the stream of the river, which had now subsided to about the middle of a man's thigh, entered Babylon by this passage."[2]

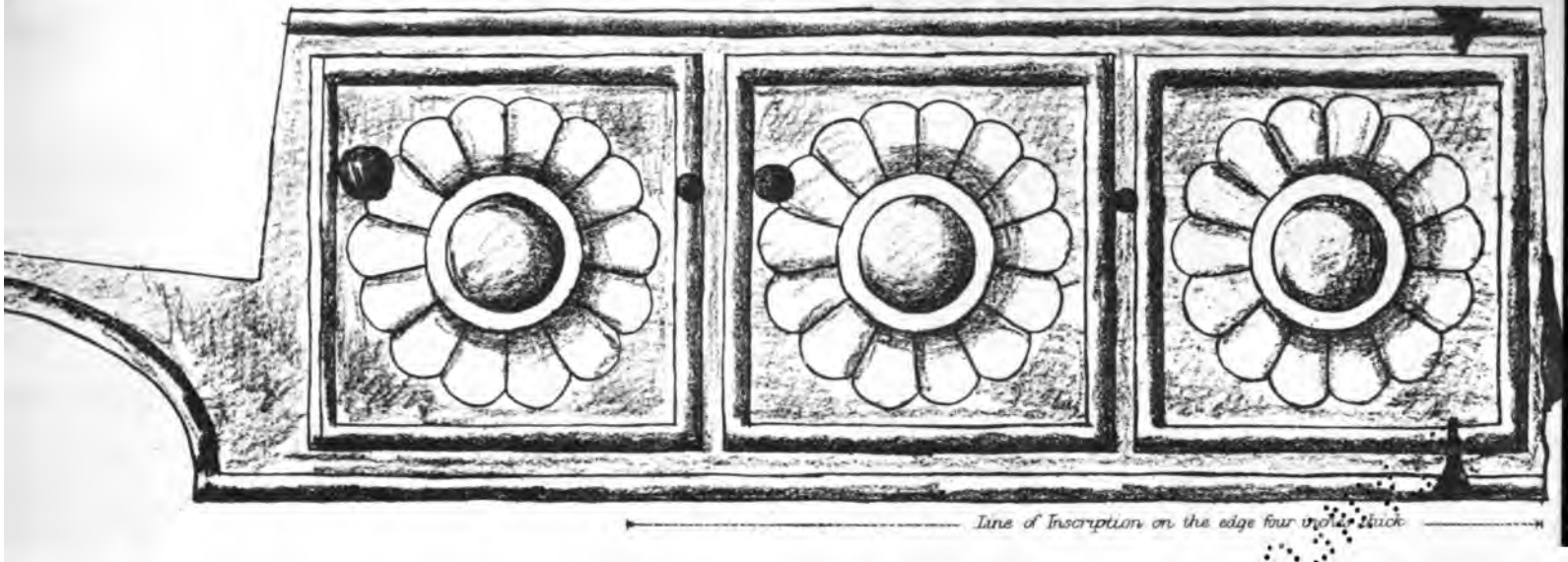
In our explorations in Babylon a broken cylinder was found which, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson's reading, contains an account of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus as it is mentioned by Herodotus and in Holy Writ; but unfortunately a good deal of it is missing, which fact makes the cuneiform version incomplete. Just before our excavations came to an end, it was reported to me that some brick masonry had been discovered deep below the ground by an Arab near the entrance of the village of Quairich, and not far from the Kasr or the old palace of Nebuchadnezzar; and I therefore went at once to examine it. It was a solid platform, built with kiln-burnt bricks cemented with bitumen, and as the owner was willing that I should follow it for some distance, and the people of the place did not raise any objection about our throwing the *débris* near the entrance to their village, I dug there about a fortnight, and only stopped when I found that it would only be wasting money, which I could not afford for such a purpose, without any benefit to the British Museum. It struck me at first sight that the masonry might have belonged to the skill of Nitocris, as being that

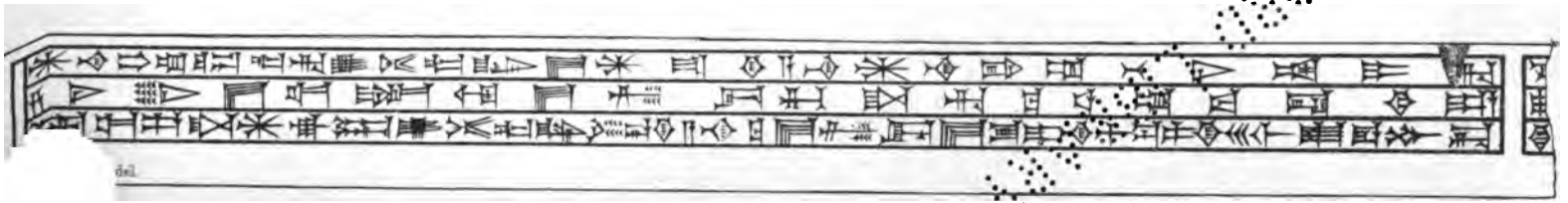
[1] Cleo., I, 186. [2] Cleo., I, 191.

part of the river whose walls she lined with bricks; but such sites cannot be proved exactly without a thorough investigation of the different localities near the Euphrates. There is no doubt that whenever anyone digs near the river in this part of Babylon, unmistakable ancient brick structures are discovered, but not a sign is visible anywhere of the bridge of stones which that queen had caused to be built. According to Herodotus, Babylon must have included Birs Nimroud, because he says that the river divided Babylon into two parts; in one the royal palace was situated, and in the other was the precinct of Jupiter Belus; but in the present day no ruin is visible anywhere on the right bank of the river until Birs Nimroud is approached. This fact makes me believe that all the present ruins which are found on the left bank of the Euphrates belonged to the royal household, and that the habitations of the people on both sides of the river consisted merely of sun-dried bricks, which crumbled to nothing after the last and final destruction of the place by the Parthian invasion.

At Birs Nimroud I was fortunate enough to discover the palace where Nabonidus was supposed to have been residing when Cyrus captured Babylon. It is on the same mound upon which the supposed Temple of Belus is built. It contained about eighty chambers and halls, only four of which produced some remains of Babylonian antiquity, proving that the building was erected by Nebuchadnezzar. In the first hall opened were found broken pillars, capitals and fragments of enamelled bricks, evidently belonging to the embellishments of the room, with cedar wood, which are now in the British Museum. The finding of this structure was very curious, and shows that explorers ought not to be discouraged when they fail sometimes in their researches. This same mound was tried by different explorers over and over again to get at its historical records, but without any beneficial results. When I went to examine it three years ago, I felt convinced that the large mound or platform below the tower must contain either a building or some other remains; so I placed two gangs of workmen to try the most likely place to reward me for the labour.

BRONZE FROM BIRS NIMROUD ABOUT $\frac{1}{8}$ ORIGINAL SIZE





The overseer whom I appointed over the workmen there had been in the habit formerly of digging at the adjoining mound called Ibraheem-el-Khaleel, where he used sometimes to find inscribed clay tablets, and had tried this Birs Nimroud mound, but could find nothing in it. The consequence was, that after I gave him the necessary directions and went to see after the other explorations in Babylon, he abandoned the new place in which I ordered him to dig, and went back to his old haunts. When I came back and found what he had done, I ordered him to return at once to the spot pointed out to him before: and, to his surprise, after one day's digging there, he found that he was excavating a hall which proved afterwards to belong to a large palace.

Soon after that I had to return to England, and left the overseers to go on with the work, but on going back there after some months, I found that they had nearly finished excavating the whole palace. As soon as I set my foot on the mound, a workman came running to inform me that they had just found some metal object, ornamented on the top, at the entrance of one of the rooms. On going to examine it, I found it placed on the threshold of what seemed to be the grand entrance to the temple. It is quite certain that this object had not been made originally for this purpose, and it must have been placed here in after time. From its length and shape it looked as if it had been originally a leaf of a bronze gate, like those mentioned by Herodotus. It must have been formerly double the length it is at present; and for the purpose of fitting it in this position, or for the sake of the value of the metal, those who placed it there had it cut in two, and disposed of the other half. Some gentlemen however, think that it was originally a door-step, and the cut at the end served as a socket, while others think it might have been the side of a battering-ram. Nevertheless, I still maintain that if it was not a leaf of a gate it could have never been used for either of the above purposes. The most striking fact connected with it is the inscription on the ledge, which Assyrian scholars read as a dedication by Nebuchadnezzar to his god for his restoration to health, which shows that it could not have been intended to be walked upon,

as it was dedicated for a sacred object. Moreover, when I examined it before it was removed, I found that it was not built into the original Babylonian doorway, but must have been placed there by less civilized occupiers of the palace, who had the passage narrowed, and fitted this object in the threshold between the stone pavement of the passage and the steps leading downwards towards the tower or temple. On passing out of this entrance towards the tower on which the temple of Belus was supposed to have been erected, we could not see any sign of building; but the whole mass afterwards excavated consisted of *débris* belonging to an ancient structure, evidently wilfully destroyed by a formidable enemy. To make myself sure, I had a large ditch excavated between the palace and the tower, so as to be certain that we had got to the end of the building; and as I could not afford to dig the whole remaining space, I penetrated as far as the foundation of the tower by means of tunnelling—a distance of about eighty feet. I desisted from going any further from fear of accident, because the nearer we approached the tower, the more it became dangerous to go on with the excavations, on account of the quantity of loose broken bricks that were mixed up with the earth. After the copper door-step was removed to the village, where I resided while superintending the work there, I had it packed in a wooden case to take to Baghdad for the purpose of sending it to this country; but finding that it was too heavy to transport on the back of a horse or camel, on going to Baghdad I engaged a muleteer to fetch it on a litter carried by four mules. I had then to prepare to start for Mossul, as I had to see to the other explorations there, and also to visit Van, the capital of Armenia, where we also had some excavations carried on under the temporary direction of Captain Clayton, the late British Vice-Consul there.

Whenever I leave our excavations in charge of native agents, I always ask the good offices of the British representative to watch the works, and so when I was going to Mossul at that time, Colonel Miles, the then British Consul General at Baghdad, was kind enough to undertake the official management of the Babylonian explorations. But just as I

was starting for Mossul, I received a telegram from my head overseer at Babylon to inform me that the Turkish authorities at Hillah had seized the copper door and refused to allow it to be taken to Baghdad, because it had been reported that it was made of gold. The consequence was that Colonel Miles was compelled to send to the Baghdad authorities to order it to be taken thither, which was ultimately done. I heard afterwards that when this peculiar object reached Baghdad the Governor General appointed a commission to examine it to see whether it was gold or not; and when they were convinced that it was not made of that precious metal, it was allowed to be despatched to England. Even if this Babylonian monument had been made of gold, neither the Hillah nor the Baghdad authorities had any right to meddle with it, seeing that according to the wording of the firman we were allowed to appropriate all unique objects whether they were made of common clay or any precious metal, to say nothing about the absurdity of mistaking copper for gold when this thing was thickly covered with verdigris.

The vitrified portion of the tower of Belus has ever been a great mystery to me, and although I have been trying for the last three years to find out, through scientific gentlemen in this country, the cause of the vitrification, I have as yet found no one who could explain the mystery satisfactorily. Every traveller who visited the place could not help noticing the almost supernatural sight, but not one of them could come to any tangible conclusion as to the cause. Benjamin, of Tudela goes so far as to assert that the "heavenly fire which struck the tower split it to its very foundation," and my late friend, Mr. Loftus, gives the opinion of a "talented companion," who originated the idea when they examined the Birs Nimroud in company, that in order to render their edifices more durable, the Babylonians submitted them, when erected, to the heat of a furnace.

The former authority does not tell us whether his assertion was based upon his own conjecture, or that he quoted a tradition which existed then in the country when he visited the town about seven hundred years ago. As for the opinion of the latter, it cannot hold water, because it is against common

sense that a huge tower like that of Birs Nimroud could be subjected to artificial heat after it was built. The tower must have been originally at least 200 feet high, and to build a furnace to envelope it, would be just like trying to cover a solid mass equal in size to the whole dome of Saint Paul's Cathedral with one huge furnace and subjecting it to artificial heat for the purpose of vitrifying it! Indeed, there is no visible sign of vitrification on any part of the remaining edifice, but the huge boulders which are vitrified are scattered about the tower, and look as if they do not belong to the place at all. Some of these must be between ten and fifteen cubic feet square: and the vitrification is so complete throughout, that when I tried to have a large piece broken to bring to the British Museum, I failed to do so until I obtained the services of a competent mason, who managed to break me two pieces, after having blunted half-a-dozen of his iron tools.

About five hundred yards to the north-east of Birs Nimroud, there is another large mound called Ibraheem-el-Khaleel, where the Arabs of that country believe Nimrod tried to throw Abraham into the fiery furnace. There I also carried on extensive explorations, and found a large collection of inscribed clay tablets; but these were found in the outskirts of the mound, and not in the building I discovered in it. This made me think that the *débris* in which they were found was thrown from an old building which had been in existence before the new structure I discovered was erected, because I found on the western side of the mound, below the sanctum of Ibraheem-el-Khaleel, quite a new building, which could not have been inhabited, resembling very much the building I discovered in Tel Ibraheem, or the supposed site of Cuthah. It might have been erected when Alexander the Great was trying to remove the rubbish from the temple of Belus, and it was abandoned when that great monarch met with his death.

While I was busily engaged in my researches in Assyria, I heard that a large idol or statue had been discovered in a mound on Shat-el-Hai, and that a telegraph employé, a Frenchman, had broken its arms and sold them to the late

Mr. George Smith, which I found afterwards had been purchased by the British Museum. So on going to Baghdad, my first endeavour was to find out where that mound was situated, because Shat-el-Hai is about one hundred and forty miles in length, and I was anxious to find out in what part of it the discovery was made, in order that I might know which way to go to it. After a good deal of inquiry, I learnt its exact position by accident. When I was one day on my way to Babylon, I was accosted on the road by a respectable Arab, who asked me to give him employment; and when I asked him what he could do, he said he would go about and look for new sites for me, as he had been in the habit of doing for others. I then inquired if he knew of any place where we should be likely to find antiquities, and he replied that there was a mound on Shat-el-Hai, called "Tel-Loh," where he had dug on searching for antiquities for a Frenchman at Baghdad; and that a black statue had been discovered by an Arab, who broke its head, and carried it away, and afterwards it was dispossessed of its arms by a French telegraphist. This information of course corroborated the story I had heard, and I allowed no time to be lost in visiting the place with him and judging for myself whether the mound was worth excavating or not. To my great disappointment I found on arriving there that the place was not in the Pashalic of Baghdad, but in that of Busra; consequently I was debarred by the limit of my firman from carrying on the necessary explorations there; and so after three days' trial I abandoned it, and returned to Baghdad, thinking that on a future occasion I should be able, through Sir Henry Layard's influence at Constantinople, to obtain permission to resume work there. I was, however, doomed to be disappointed, because in the meantime M. de Sarzac, the French Vice-Consul at Busra, who had also tried this mound before, was endeavouring through his embassy at the Turkish capital to obtain a firman to excavate on his own account at Tel-Loh, and before I could communicate with Sir Henry Layard he attained his desired object. I did not know at first that M. de Sarzac was trying to obtain a firman to excavate at Tel-Loh on his own private account, but had

heard that he had asked the French Government to give him a grant for his intended explorations, which they had refused to do, and this put me off the scent. Though my other duties took me from the place, had I had the required permission to dig there, I would have left the overseer in charge. On such expeditions it is my custom to take with me a trustworthy overseer; and should the mound prove likely to afford satisfactory results on tentative excavations being made, I leave him there to look after the work during my absence.

I found on arriving at Tel-Loh that the statue I had heard of was partially uncovered by the Arabs, and so I had it dug out and made some squeezes of the inscription, which I brought to the British Museum on my return home in June, 1879. While I was there I tried other parts of the mound, and found different inscribed objects, which I brought home, consisting of inscribed clay tablets, weights, sockets of a gate, and curious inscribed symbols in the shape of a thick nail. Of the latter the whole mound was covered with fragments; and up to to-day no one, as far as I know, has accurately explained what they were used for. Assyrian scholars have identified this ancient seat of bygone Chaldean civilization as being "Sirgulla," or city of the great light; that is to say, a place dedicated to fire worship, and that the greater part of the discovered antiquities bore the name of "Gudea," a prince who held the rank of a viceroy under the king of Ur.

The mound of Tel-Loh is very curiously shaped, quite different from other ancient Babylonian sites. It is about a mile in circumference, and consists of different small mounds, the largest of which is the one in which the statues which are now at the Louvre were found. In that same mound the sitting figure was found; and had I dug there another day, I should have come upon the others which M. de Sarzac removed. In some parts of the area of Tel-Loh it was only necessary to dig one foot in order to come upon ancient remains; and the largest mound cannot be more than thirty feet high. It is quite certain that this place was not used as a residence for royalty, but as a mausoleum or kind of cemetery for renowned individuals. In one mound, where

I unearthed the inscribed pebble gate socket, which is now in the British Museum, there was only one chamber brought to light, evidently a temple, like that of Balawat, where I found Shalmaneser's bronze gates; and the mound in which M. de Sarzac discovered the statues contained about half-a-dozen small chambers. The remainder of the open space must have been used either for a garden or for interring the remains of less worthy personages.

For the last two years our explorations in Assyria were carried on on a small scale, in consequence of the opposition which the Turkish authorities have been creating against my digging in that part of Nineveh called Nebbi Yunis, or the prophet Jonah. Formerly we were debarred from digging at that place by the prejudice the natives of the village had against selling us any house to excavate in; and as the whole mound was covered over with houses, we could not manage to carry on our researches there as we wished; but on returning to Mossul in the beginning of 1879, some of the inhabitants invited me to go and dig in their houses, and others actually offered to sell me their dwellings for the same purpose. I, of course, accepted the last offer, and purchased the required number of houses in order to make some tentative excavations therein. I had at first to obtain the permission of the guardians of the mosque to enable me to purchase the houses, as the land was a kind of copyhold of the shrine of the prophet Jonah. Soon after operations were commenced, however, the overseer of the religious endowment and other petty Turkish officials, thinking that I had bribed the guardians of the mosque, and they receiving no share in the transaction, began to show opposition by inducing some natives of the place to petition the local authorities against my continuing the excavations there, on the plea that by my doing so the village would be destroyed, and the public revenue injured. At that time the Governor General himself went to the village of Nebbi Yunis and examined into the complaints, and he could not but give his verdict against the petitioners, as he said that I had purchased the houses legally and with the entire consent of their owners, and he could not, therefore, stop the work; but the Mootsarif,

or Lieutenant Governor of Mossul, from that day forward leagued with the then Minister of Public Instruction at Constantinople to thwart us, and has succeeded. Both of these officials were known to be unfavourably disposed towards British interests. Unfortunately when this difficulty arose Sir Henry Layard had left the Turkish capital, and although I applied over and over again to his successors, they could do nothing, as it appears that the attitude the British Government assumed in the matter of Dulcino and the Egyptian difficulty have alienated the good feeling of the Porte towards England; and the Sultan not caring to grant us any favours, everything has gone against us. All the pleas they brought up against our digging at the village of Nebbi Yunis were childish; and although they alleged that I had acted in contravention to the conditions of the firman, they failed to prove their case, as I have always been most cautious in carrying out my explorations in accordance with the provisions of the Imperial license: but I am sorry to say that the Ottoman Government have often failed to adhere to the strict royal injunctions. The local authorities at Mossul had no more right to stop us from digging at the village of Nebbi Yunis, especially in the houses I had purchased, than at any other spot, though they said that the place in which I wished to dig was sacred. The Ottoman authorities themselves dug there when I was excavating at Koyunjik, adjoining Nebbi Yunis, in 1853; and besides, I never intended to excavate near the Mausoleum of the prophet Jonah, but took care to keep outside the Ottoman excavations which skirted the mosque. Although during the short time I excavated at the village of Nebbi Yunis very little was found to reward me for my anxiety, nevertheless the tradition which is attached to the palace, and the fact of three of the great Assyrian kings having resided there,—namely, Pul, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, make me long to try it once more. I feel quite sanguine that after a short labour in certain parts in that mound, it will reveal to the world important discoveries, as this site must have been in the latter days of Assyrian magnificence the chief seat of royalty. From the annals of Esarhaddon we learn that he

had built there a palace, "such as the kings, his fathers, who went before him, had never made," and which he called "the palace of the pleasures of all the year."

It is to be hoped that British interest will yet take its former status, and the Porte will withdraw all opposition to our archæological researches, especially as we have still some work to be done in the palaces and temples discovered. It would be a crying shame that we should not be allowed to excavate the remainder of the palaces we have discovered, and allow others to benefit by obtaining the remainder of our collection, more especially in the palace of Sennacherib in Nineveh, which Sir Henry Layard discovered in 1845, where we have been excavating off and on for the last thirty-eight years, during the reign of three Sultans.

EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY, PARTICULARLY WITH REFERENCE TO MIST AND CLOUD.

By P. Le Page Renouf.

Read 7th March, 1882.

The Greek dissertation upon Isis and Osiris, which is found among the works of Plutarch, contains the striking remark, that the Egyptian legends with which the writer is concerned are so extremely like well known Hellenic legends that the same explanations are available for both. This is undoubtedly true, and if the Greeks had really been able to explain their own mythology, it would not have been difficult for them to understand Egyptian mythology when derived from sources as genuine as some of those known to the author of this Greek work.[1] But a science of mythology was not possible in the days of Plutarch and his imitators. It has only become possible since the study of the oldest Indian literature has shown that the mythology of the Vedas bears the same relationship to the mythologies of the Greek, Italian, Scandinavian, Teutonic, and Slav races, which the Sanskrit language bears to the different Indo-European languages. Vedic mythology is not the parent of Greek or of Roman mythology, any more than Sanskrit is the parent of Greek or Latin. But there is clear proof that all the races of Aryan origin had a common

[1] The genuineness of *some* of these sources being undisputed, some Egyptologists have jumped to the extravagant conclusion that Plutarch's *interpretation* of the myths must be correct. In the days of Plutarch even the Egyptian interpretations of myths were utterly worthless.

No progress is possible until Egyptologists entirely repudiate the *authority* of Plutarch, Diodorus, Horapollo, and Hermes Trismegistus, as exponents of Egyptian ideas. To suppose, like M. Devéria, that neo-Platonic forgeries of the Christian period can throw any light, except a thoroughly false one, upon mythological writings more than two thousand years older, is to misconceive the nature of philosophy as well as that of mythology.

mythology before they separated, and also that the forms which the Vedic myths present are historically far more ancient, and at the same time more transparent and intelligible, than the Greek or the Roman forms.

Far more instructive than the explanation of any one myth or legend, is the discovery of the process of myth-formation, and consequently of the true method of interpretation; especially when it is found that the same kind of process has been going on, not only among all Indo-European races, but, as nearly as can be ascertained, all over the world. One and the same natural phenomenon does not necessarily give rise to the same myth everywhere, but the process by which myths are derived from it is everywhere the same.

Every national mythology has, in the first instance, to be investigated according to the facts which are furnished by its own language and literature; but these facts derive much light from the analogy of corresponding facts in other mythologies. It is hardly necessary to acknowledge that reasoning supposed to follow analogy is often most fallacious; but this is only the case when a real analogy does not exist.

Among the truths which a study of comparative mythology has made very evident, there are two or three upon which I think it necessary to insist most strongly.

It is an entire mistake to seek in myths for religious, metaphysical, ethical, or political ideas, or for physical theories. Myths in themselves have nothing to do with religion. Religion in itself has nothing to do with mythology. Religious feelings have indeed very often centred upon the gods of mythology, but the word 'god' does not in itself denote anything of a religious nature.[1]

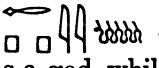
The myths have reference solely to physical phenomena, and as each physical object is susceptible of many names, and of being considered from various points of view,[2] the

[1] See an excellent article of Delbrück, "Entstehung des Mythos bei den Indogerm. Völker, und über das Verhältniss zwischen Religion und Myth," in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, B. III.

[2] "Der Name eines Dinges enthält nur *Ein* Merkmal statt des ganzen Begriffs." Pott, "über Mannigfaltigkeit d. sprachlichen Ausdrucks," in the *Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychologie*, B. I, p. 345.

most different and the most contradictory myths may be derived from it. A god may have ever so many different mothers, be born in ever so many different places, and end his career in ever so many different ways. All attempts to harmonise these stories, or to select one in preference to the others are simply idle; each story is true in its own sense and independent of every other story.

Lastly, every genuine myth is expressed in a very few words.[1] Divine dynasties, theogonies containing many generations, long consistent and consecutive legendary narratives[2] are not genuine mythology any more than they are genuine history. They are literary or priestly inventions.

That Egyptian mythology, like the Indo-European, is derived from natural phenomena, and that its principal deities are names of the Sun, has, I suppose, never been doubted by modern scholars. At all events, no one having any decent pretension to understand the ancient language of Egypt, whatever his mythological theories may be, will hesitate to admit that Seb is the earth, Nut heaven, and Rā, Tmu, Horus, Mentu, and Chepera, but different names of the Sun. But it is equally certain that *all* natural phenomena have not been personified, and that all the personages of mythology have not the rank of gods. Apap, or rather  Apepi, the adversary of Rā, is never considered as a god, whilst Set, the adversary of Osiris and Horus, was called a 'great god and lord of heaven' in the most flourishing days of the old

[1] *Cf.* Max Müller's remarks on Welcker's method of dealing with Greek mythology: *Chips*, II, pp. 150 and 151. It is hardly necessary to say that, for English readers at least, the essay on Comparative Mythology at the beginning of this volume is the best introduction to the study of the subject.

[2] Such as the "Destruction of Men" in the tomb of Seti, or the "Triumphs of Horus," at Edfu, or the "Wanderings of Isis," on the Metternich Tablet. They bear the same kind of relation to true mythology that a tragedy of Sophocles or Euripides bears to Indo-European mythology. But the story of Osiris, as told by Plutarch or Diodorus, can only be fitly judged by comparing it with the story of Cacus, as told by the latter writer, and then reading the various transformations which the true myth of Cacus has suffered. See Bréal's excellent "Hercule et Cacus," in his *Mélanges de Mythologie et de Linguistique.*

religion. Akar, [1] who is associated with Set,[2] Apepi, and the enemies of Rā, is also a god. Wherein lies the difference between these personages? A solution of this question is essential to the right understanding of the Egyptian mythology.

The theology of ancient Egypt, from the earliest periods known to us, is based upon the conception of the uniformity of Nature, as governed by constant, fixed, and unalterable law. This conception was derived from the observation of the unvaried succession of physical phenomena, in the motions of the sun, moon, and stars, in the year and its seasons, day and night, light and darkness. The common noun used to express the different powers is , phonetically written , or still more fully , , , *nutàr*, but already in the eighteenth dynasty corrupted in popular pronunciation to *nutà*, from which the Coptic ⲛⲟⲩϯ, signifying God, is derived. *Nutàr* is etymologically connected with *nutrà;* a word which has erroneously been translated "renew." In hundreds of texts where it occurs the primary sense is *might, strength, power.*[3] As an adjective it signifies *strong, mighty,* and as a verb *strengthen, fortify, protect.* And this is the reason why, in the later texts, the common determinative of the word is a fortified wall

[1] This god (σκοταῖος) represents the dusk or gloom of morn or evening, Todt., 108, 9; 111, 4; 149, 17. See also 39, 6 and 9. The deceased says, 94, 2, "I am provided with the writings of Thoth, which ward off the Akar who is in Sut, ," *i.e.*, "the gloom of night." A tablet from Abydos, of the 13th or 14th dynasty, speaks of the ithyphallic god Ames as the terrible one who smites Akar and deals blows against the enemies of the sun, (Mariette, *Catalogue*, 261).

[2] This god's name should probably be written *Sut*, as in the preceding note. The form which is found in Todt., 96, 2, is evidently a mere mistake for , as it will be found written in the Papyrus of Nebseni.

[3] See Appendix.

or . The corresponding word in Coptic is ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲛⲟⲩϯ, which in the Bible represents the Greek words δύναμις, ἰσχύς, ἰσχυρόω. I trace the Coptic word to the hieroglyphic forms , *nuntàr*, and the plural forms , which occur among the many variants of in the so-called enigmatic texts at Biban-el-Moluk. As *nutàr* has become *nuti* in Coptic, so has *nuntàr* become *nomti*. And *nuntàr* has grown out of *nutàr* by the insertion of a nasal consonant into the first syllable, as the Coptic forms ϩⲉⲛⲕⲓ and ϩⲉⲩⲩⲕⲉ have grown out of *ḥeket* or ϣⲉⲩⲩϣⲓ out of *šese*.[1]

The notion of a Kosmos, or what moderns call the Reign of Law, is implied in the Egyptian *Maāt*, a word which I think it is a serious mistake in certain contexts to translate, "truth." *Maāt* is Law, in the sense of that eternal and unerring order through which this universe exists; and this sense of the word is not an extension of the notion of "truth," but is as directly connected with the notion of *maā, stretch out, hold out straight*, as the Latin *regere, regula, rectus*, and our own *rule* and *right*, with *arǵ*, the Indo-European equivalent of *maā*.

One of the most essential attributes of the Egyptian *nutàr* is that he should be *neb maāt*, literally *lord or master of Law*. The meaning of this expression is liable to be mistaken. It does not signify that Law is at the *lord's* will or disposal, but that it is his distinguishing attribute. In Egyptian as in Hebrew, a *hairy* man is *lord of hair*, בַּעַל שֵׂעָר;

[1] The value *šese* (*Denk.*, II, 122; III, 262, &c.) for is indisputable.

M. Pierret and Dr. Brugsch have recently appealed in favour of *šemse* to an ancient monument which reads . They ought to have noticed that in this inscription the word signifying *service* should grammatically be preceded by . The scribe has simply put this letter in the wrong place—an extremely common error.

winged is *lord of wings.* *neb ābu, lord of horns,* is the exact equivalent of בַּעַל קְרָנַיִם; *lord of blood,* means *bloody;* *lord of years,* means *aged, annosus;* the faithful dead is called either *ȧmχu,* or *neb ȧmχu.* The Sun-god is , because his course is guided by fixed Law, and never transgresses it. And such is the case with all other personages who have the same attribute applied to them. And incredibly numerous as were the personages of their mythology, the Egyptians seem to have regarded none as gods who did not in some way, like the days of the month and the twenty-four hours of the day, represent a fixed and eternal Law. Night, therefore, in the person of Set, is justly esteemed a "great god and lord of heaven"; but Apepi clearly represents a natural phenomenon of so irregular an occurrence as not to fall within the Egyptian conception of Law.

The myths of Egypt, like those of all other nations, arose (it cannot too often be repeated) from the spontaneous and often homely utterances of men in presence of nature. We have a vulgar saying when the sun shines through the rain, that "the Devil is beating his wife." The Sun was spoken of by the Egyptians as the "Youth in Town," or the "Lad in the Country," or the "Bull in the Fields." He is the "Husband of his own Mother." When he has disappeared, it is said that he has lost his sight, that his eyes will be restored to him at daybreak, or that his head has been swallowed by his enemy. The etymologies of some of the names of the Sun are very evident. He is Ptah the Opener, Tmu the Closer, Chnemu the Builder. But some of the most important names of gods are as yet without explanation. I endeavoured in my Lectures on the Egyptian religion to identify the principal gods, and since the delivery of those lectures I have seen but little reason to modify any of the results upon which I expressed myself very positively. But on some points I spoke hesitatingly, for instance, as to the gods Shu and Tefnut; and with reference to others (Isis, Nephthys, and Hathor) I was aware of a good many texts which might be quoted in apparent opposition to the conclusions I had adopted. As to the

mythology derived from phenomena of irregular occurrence, I said but little, and that only conjecturally. On all these points I now venture to lay before you the results of a more mature study of the original texts.

I do not think I was wrong in identifying Nephthys with the Sunset, and Isis, Hathor, Neith, and other goddesses, with the Dawn. But M. Naville was also right in his conjecture that Nephthys might represent the morning, and Isis the evening, twilight. There were, in fact, according to Egyptian ideas, two Dawns, and a word which means Dawn also means Sunset.[1] In the vignettes of the 17th Chapter of the Book of the Dead, the goddesses Isis and Nephthys twice appear together, once on the Eastern and once on the Western direction of the bark of the Sun-god. Again, Isis is said to give birth to the Sun-god Horus, and Nephthys to nurse him. This is, of course, on the eastern horizon. Yet both Isis and Nephthys are called "goddesses of the West." According to one of the glosses of the 17th chapter, Isis and Nephthys are the two feathers on the head of the ithyphallic god Ames,[2] who (we are told in the same place) is no other than Horus, the avenger of his father. In the more recent texts

[1] *māseru*. Observe the determinative, which is very important. The sun sets at the *māseru* (Todt., 15, 2), and he rises at it (15, 16). The Hebrew נְשֶׁף also means dawn and sunset.

[2] Commonly but erroneously called Khem. The variants of the name are and (see *Zeitschr.*, 1877, p. 98), as found in a tomb of the XVIIIth dynasty (*Denkm.*, III, 38), in the papyrus of Nebseni, in one at Boulaq (No. 21), and in that of Net'emet, belonging to the Prince of Wales. Two other authorities (the Ritual of Mentuhotep and that of Keka, both at Berlin) show that the last consonant in the name was or —, and for the name itself in the papyrus of Keka I read *àmes*. [Since this was in print, M. Maspero (*Zeitschr.*, 1882, p. 129) has quoted two identical texts; in that from the pyramid of Teta corresponds to in that from the pyramid of Unas. These are not phonetic variants any more than the of Teta = the or of Unas. In *Tempelinschr.*, I, 32, *Ames Men* (line 8), is distinguished from *Ames Horus* (line 1)].

the hieroglyphic sign representing the rising sun between Isis and Nephthys, is ideographic of the word *tuau*, morning, whence the Coptic ⲧⲟⲩⲓ. When they are associated in this way it is right to speak of these goddesses as the Two Dawns. When they appear isolated, unless there is a special reason for the contrary, Isis remains the Dawn, as in the myth where Horus strikes off her head, or in the 133rd chapter, which begins as follows: "The Sun-god rises from his horizon; the company of gods is with him, as the god comes forth who is in the secret dwelling. The mists fall away from the eastern horizon of heaven at the voice of Isis, who has prepared the way for the Sun-god." And, on the other hand, Nephthys considered as the spouse of Set, the destroyer of Osiris, or as the mother of Anubis, "who swallows his own father," can only be identified with the Sun-set.

Hathor, "the dwelling of Horus," out of which he comes, and into which he returns, stands both for the Dawn and the evening twilight.

I thought it probable that Neith, the great goddess of Sais, and mother of the Sun-god Rā, who in various texts is identified with Isis, was one of the many names of the Dawn, not of Heaven, as has generally been thought. I ought to have spoken more positively. The passage I referred to in the Book of the Dead (114, 1, 2) is sufficient to support a decided assertion. The goddess herself says on the sepulchral canopi, *setuà semāšerà rā neb*, "I come at Dawn and at Sunset daily,"[1] and I ought to have remembered that a papyrus of the Louvre says that "the Sun-god Rā rises at the gates of the horizon at the prime portals of Neith." Upon which M. Maspero says, "En tant que déesse cosmique [*the Egyptians had no others*] Neith représentait la matière inerte et ténébreuse d'où le soleil sortait chaque matin." "La matière inerte et ténébreuse" is an unnecessary and unauthorized addition to the Egyptian conception. But I am pleased to find that on some important points I am not

[1] Rougé, *Etude sur une stèle egyptienne*, p. 125.

so far at variance with other Egyptian scholars as I thought when I delivered my lectures. I am certainly not disposed to admit the general proposition, that the Egyptian goddesses represented *space*. But M. Pierret's doctrine, "qu'elles personnifient la lumière du soleil ou l'espace *dans lequel il prend sa naissance* et *dans lequel il se couche*," is very nearly my own view. I fear Egyptologists will soon be accused, like other persons, of seeing the Dawn everywhere. The ancient Egyptians at least saw these goddesses where we see them. "Oh Shu, Amen Rā, Harmachis, self-sprung," says a hymn, "thy sister goddesses stand in Buchat, they uplift thee into thy bark." Buchat, as Brugsch proved many years ago, is the place on the horizon where the sun rises.[1]

I am, I confess, compelled to see the Dawn, or rather the Two Dawns, in Shu and Tefnut, the two children of the Sun-god Rā.[2] It may be quite true that in later times Shu represented Air, but this is only because the Dawn brings fresh breezes[3]—Oriens afflavit anhelis.[4] But in all the early texts

[1] *Zeitschr.*, 1864, p. 74. The form = ܦܰܠܦܶܠܬܳܐ *palpebræ*, "the eyelids" of the Dawn. On the "wings of the Dawn," see *infra*, Note 4.

[2] As Dr. Birch already thought when he translated the Book of the Dead. See Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 193.

[3] Compare the Hebrew נָשַׁף *flavit* (apparently akin to נָשַׁם *spiravit*, נְשָׁמָה *halitus*) with נָשֶׁף *crepusculum*. The word *nešep* (Dümichen, *Resultate*, 18, 3, 26, 10) is evidently borrowed by the Egyptians of the recent inscriptions.

[4] This agrees with several texts of the recent period.

, "The god Shu comes to thee in his form of the Dawn to give thee air" (*Rec.*, I, 35, from the coffin of Hetra). *Sau-Hru*, which means the Dawn (see Brugsch's Lex., part 7, p. 982), is an evident imitation of the Semitic سَحَر. , "The god Shu comes to thee daily at early dawn in the four winds" (Dendera, *ap.* Brugsch, *ibid.*, p. 687). In the article of Brugsch's Lexicon on , these two texts are referred to among others not less interesting. One of these speaks of the Dawn as knowing one's interior, (*Cf.* the name of the door-keeper of the Hall of Maāt,

Shu is the rising Sun. The Harris magical papyrus identifies Shu with "the Sun travelling upwards at the prime of morning, whilst Tefnut, seated upon his head, darts her flame against his adversaries." The myth, according to which Shu "divided heaven from earth," only means that at the dawning of the day heaven and earth, which were previously confused together in darkness, are clearly seen apart. And when it is added that "he raised the heaven above the earth for millions of years," what happens every day is, according to the well known wont of myths, related as having occurred once. The expression *ḥotep šu*, implies that Shu is used for the Sunset as well as for the Dawn. Shu and Tefnut are called the Two Lions, but they are also represented by a single Lion, as though there were but a single divinity. In the tomb of queen Maāt-ka-rā the two Eyes of Horus are said to be Shu and Tefnut—one being in the morning boat and the other in the evening boat of the Sun.

As Tefnut etymologically seemed to represent some form of *moisture*, I had conjectured that this was Dew rather than Rain, which is not one of the regularly recurring phenomena of Egypt. And Brugsch has recently come to a similar conclusion.[1] This conjecture, however, scarcely does justice to the powers of Tefnut, who is always described as a fiery and even blood-stained divinity. It is fire that she *spits* against the adversaries. "I am Tefnut," she says, "thundering against those who are kept on the earth, who are annihilated for ever." She surely represents

> "The sanguine sunrise, with his meteor eyes
> And his burning plumes outspread,"

or the "crimson pall of eve."

Todt., 125, 61, and Max Müller, *Science of Language*, II, p. 564, 7th Ed.) But the most important ones are those which clearly identify Horus of Bahutet, or the Winged Solar disk, with the Dawn.

I cannot admit with Brugsch that an older form of is to be found in the of a XIIth dynasty inscription. The latter group is not *siu-Hor*, but *ṭua*. The substitution of the sign for is easily accounted for; see *Denkm.*, III, 151 *c*.

[1] "Die Regen-oder Thaugöttin Tefnut." *Die Neue Weltordnung*, p. 36.

M. Naville observes:[1] "Si l'étymologie du nom de nous indique plutôt quelque chose d'humide, on ne peut nier que les representations de cette déesse, telle qu'elle apparaît en général dans les temples ne soient tout-à-fait semblables à celles de la déesse de Memphis appelée encore et dont les epithètes sont *la brulante,* *la flamme,* *qui habite la fournaise.*"[2]

But both Isis and Nephthys shoot flames against the adversaries of Rā.

The same may be said of the two Uræus goddesses, Uat'it and Nechebet, who are in fact but one goddess, who is herself identified with Hathor in a text published by M. Maspero: , which adds that she consumes the adversaries with her flames.

Sechet, the beloved of Ptah, is simply the fiery Dawn. "She sendeth flames of fire in the face of the foes; whoever approaches sinks to ruin, she sendeth fire to burn their limbs." She is distinctly identified with Neith in the Ritual (66, 9): .

If the tale of the destruction of men by Hathor be really founded on a genuine myth, the blood-stained goddess certainly represents one of those sunsets which I have myself witnessed in Egypt, when "the whole sky, from the zenith to the horizon, becomes one molten mantling sea of colour and fire; every black bar turns into massy gold, every ripple and wave into unsullied, shadowless crimson and purple and

[1] Litanie du Soleil, p. 34.

In a text at Philae (as yet, I think, unpublished) Tefnut is represented as "giving protection to her son Osiris." In the magical papyrus translated by Dr. Birch, Osiris is the son of Shu and Tefnut.

[2] This last expression, of which the curious variant is found in *Tempelinschr.*, I, pl. 74, should rather be rendered 'empyræum.' It is the abode of flame whence the Sun-god issues, and like the had representative chapels in the great temples.

scarlet, and colours for which there are no words in language and no ideas in the mind—things which can only be conceived while they are visible—the intense hollow blue of the upper sky melting through it all—showing here deep and pure and lightless—there modulating the filmy formless body of the transparent vapour till it is lost imperceptibly in its crimson and gold."[1]

Phenomena like those just described in Mr. Ruskin's eloquent language depend upon atmospheric conditions which vary from day to day. They gave rise in Egypt, as in other countries, to that kind of myth which we may call the meteorological, as distinct from the myth which has reference only to the relations of the heavenly bodies. When the Sun-god has sunk below the horizon, Tmu has been received into his mother's arms, or Set has eaten the head of Osiris, or Anubis has swallowed his own father, or Horus is sitting alone in his blindness. The crocodile of the West devours each of the stars which set (the *Achmiu uretu*).[2] Each morn Horus overcomes Set, and avenges Osiris, the sun of yesterday. In the battle between night and day Tehuti (the moon) at fixed intervals appears upon the scene as mediator or arbitrator between the contending parties.

[1] Ruskin, "Modern Painters," I, 158.

[2] See my Hibbert Lectures, p. 181, note.

In the additions (p. 136) to his Lexicon, Brugsch corrects his former opinion, and quotes texts from Dendera which speak of the *Achmiu uretu* as belonging to the southern sky and the *Achmiu seku* to the northern sky. This is of course not only in harmony with my own view, but a necessary consequence. As the old ungrammatical error of considering *àchmiu* as a mere negative is not yet exploded, let me quote the forms (*Aelteste Texte*, 40, line 11) and (Leyden, St. k. 9), which prove that the word is a *noun*, and the generic name of certain stars.

Of these Achmiu the stars of the Great Bear appear to me to have enjoyed several mythical names. The well-known name, *Chepesh*, "thigh," is suggested by the look of the constellation, and is probably not mythological. But if, as I think, "the seven Cows and their Bull" (? Arcturus) mentioned in the Book of the Dead (ch. 148) designate this constellation (*septem triones*), there is even less reason for doubting that the stars represented the "Seven Spirits who follow their Lord" (Todt., 17, 33). From early times traditions differed as to the names of these spirits (*ib.*, lines 38 and 39). But it is noteworthy that the name of the *fifth* spirit, according to one tradition, is

In all such instances the myth is founded upon facts eternally recurring in unvarying succession. Such is not the case when the sun's light is modified by mist, cloud, or eclipse.

The exceptional brightness of the Egyptian sky is generally known. It is not so well understood that, particularly in certain months of the year, dense fogs and cloudy skies are extremely common, and that even in the latitude of Thebes violent storms of thunder, lightning, and rain are by no means unknown. The hieroglyphic inscriptions of Edfu expressly mention the obelisks and flagstaffs as being destined to serve a purpose similar to that of our lightning conductors. The study of a poet true to nature, like Wordsworth or Shelley, or of an artist like Turner, is a more instructive guide to the interpretation of myths than the most profound speculations of philosophers ancient or modern.

"The scarlet of the clouds," says Mr. Ruskin,[1] was Turner's "symbol of destruction. In his mind it was the symbol of blood. So he used it in the Fall of Carthage. Note his own written words—

> 'While o'er the western wave the *ensanguined* sun
> In gathering huge a stormy signal spread,
> And set portentous.'

"red-eyed," whilst the fifth cow's name (Todt., 148, 13) is connected with "red-haired." This clearly refers to a coloured and therefore double star in the constellation.

There are, again, the seven *T'aàsu*, who assist Thoth in his calculations as to the universe; one of them, called the "Red one," is third or *fifth*, according to the order in which the names are read.

It is highly probable that the Seven Scorpions who accompanied Isis, according to the legend of the Metternich Tablet, equally represent the stars of the Great Bear.

[1] *Modern Painters*, V, p. 340, note. Turner, Mr. Ruskin says (*ibid.*, p. 147), felt the great Greek traditions more than he knew them; "his mind being affected, up to a certain point, precisely as an ancient painter's would have been, by external phenomena of nature. To him, as to the Greek, the storm clouds seemed messengers of fate. *He feared them, while he reverenced.*" The passage from the impressions of nature to a mythical and also to a religious view of things, is here strikingly expressed.

So he used it in the Slaver, in the Ulysses, in the Napoleon, in the Goldau; again and again in slighter hints and momentary dreams, of which one of the saddest and most tender is a little sketch of Dawn, made in his last years."

Red is also the symbol of blood, flame, or destruction, in the Egyptian myths, in reference to the colour of the clouds. I have already referred to the tale of the destruction of men by Hathor. But the Book of the Dead furnishes earlier evidence. The crimson of a sunset takes the form (in the 17th chapter) of the "blood which flows from the Sun-god Rā as he hastens to his suicide." (Death of Herakles.)

According to another myth (Todt., 99, 22), the Sun-god "cut the foot of Hathor, in stretching a hand to bring her to him in his evening boat."

A third myth (Todt., 99, 17) speaks of Isis as "stanching the blood from the eye of Horus."

The "blood of Isis" is commemorated (Todt., 156, 1) by the red talisman called the *tet*, of which so many specimens are found in our museums. The blood here spoken of is not improbably that which flowed when Horus smote off her head. In these instances the crimson tints of dawn and sunset are ascribed to blood proceeding from the gods. I shall shortly have to give instances in which the blood proceeds from the adversaries of the gods.

Modern science has given the name of *cirrus* to one of the most common forms of cloud. The Latin word *cirrus* signifies a lock, curl, ringlet, or tuft of hair. The corresponding Egyptian word is *nebṭu*. In the Tale of the Two Brothers the faithless wife of Anpu was sitting *ḥer nebṭu-set*, "curling her hair."

The resemblance of certain clouds to locks of hair did not escape the notice of the Egyptians. The 131st chapter of the Book of the Dead speaks of "the lock which is in the way of the Sun," *nebtu pui ȧm uat Rā*. The previous chapter (130, 24) had already spoken of "repulsing that Lock which issues out of the flame

against the bark of Rā." In chapter 138, 4, Horus, the "*sovereign of the universe*," is invoked under the special title of *peḥ er nebtu*, "mighty" or "victorious against the Lock of hair"; a ridiculous piece of bathos, unless it is borne in mind that *Nebtu* is here the name of a mythological personage sufficiently important to encounter the Sun-god in battle. In other chapters *Nebtu* is distinctly spoken of as a demon. In 39, 12, he comes to attack "the god who reposes in his shrine," and in 152, 1, he is given up by Shu to the Osiris. In other chapters (136, 10; 144, 17) it is promised to the departed that Nebtu shall not reach him.

Already at the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty, in the tomb of queen Maāt-ka-rā,[1] we find him mentioned as *Nebtu se Nut*, Nebtu, son of Nut. This is a parentage not recognized in the Book of the Dead. It seems to imply an identification with Set, and a misconception of the essential difference between these personages. It is a first unconscious step towards the expulsion of Set from the rank of the gods.

Another Egyptian word (of which the forms *semai* and *semam* are also found) signifies "hair," as in chapter 154, 6, where it is said that the hair of the departed shall not be soiled. It is probably akin to *sami*, dark, black, darkness. There is also the word *sâm* (Brugsch, *Lex.*, 1165), which unquestionably signifies dark cloud. The appearance of dark, black locks upon the sky has given rise to the mythical personages of the *Samiu* of Set. This expression exactly corresponds to the πλόκαμοι ἑκατογκεφάλα Τυφῶ, the Locks of the hundred-headed Typhon: a name, as we know from Aristophanes, given by the Greeks to certain

[1] In this queen's time (Dümichen, *Hist. Inschr.*, II, 34) Set still occupies his ancient rank among the gods. He is called (No. 5) "the great and living god," and (No. 10) the "lord of heaven."

clouds. It is said in chapter 18, line 22, that when these Samiu of Set approached Horus they transformed into goats or other quadrupeds, and were slaughtered before the chief gods, "while the blood flowed from them."

In the 134th chapter, the enemies of Osiris also appear in the form of birds, beasts, and fishes, and the Sun-god "washes in their blood." With the *Samiu* I am most strongly inclined to identify the *Sebiu* , other Titanic enemies of the Sun, whose function and fate are exactly the same. Etymologically there is no difficulty in the identification, for the interchange of the letters *b* and *m* is recognized, *e.g.*, in the well-known cases of *āb*, and *ām*, *māḥes*, and *bāḥes*, *bakasu*, and *makasu*. The two forms *samiu* and *sabiu* are probably owing to a dialectic variety of pronunciation; but the scribes to whom we owe our present copies of the Ritual were not aware of this, or they would otherwise sometimes have used the sign a lock, as determinative of *Sebiu*. Their slaughter and the effusion of their blood is recorded in the Book of the Dead. These myths represent the dissolution of the dark clouds into smaller ones, assuming fantastic shapes, and coloured by the Sun's rays in hues of crimson or scarlet.

Hair is also the mythical equivalent of cloud,[1] when the overcast dawn is represented by Isis covering herself by letting her hair flow over her (Todt., 17); also by the "wig of Hathor" *āfnīt ent Hathor* (Todt., 35, 1), which covers the rising Sun-god Shu, and the cap *sešet* (78, 25), of Horus.[2]

[1] The primitive meaning of *senemu*, storm cloud or storm, is simply *hair*, the common forms being or .

[2] The *nemeres* of the Double Lion of Dawn is referred to later on.

The hair of Osiris is said (Todt., 13, 2) to be "greatly agitated (*nešu* = the Greek *φρίσσειν*) when he sees the greyhounds of Horus." Both the hair of Osiris and the greyhounds of Horus represent forms of cloud. Those who made these myths saw animal forms in the clouds, not only as adversaries of the Sun-god, but as the cattle of Horus: "his oxen, his goats, and his swine" (ch. 112, 6). But the greyhound evidently represents the light cloud rapidly skimming along under the influence of a steady breeze.

The mythical greyhounds and their fleetness are also mentioned in a very ancient and, unfortunately, very uncertain text (the 24th chapter of the Book of the Dead) in connection with the god Shu.

Other mythical animal forms mentioned in the Book of the Dead as antagonists of the Sun, are serpents, crocodiles, and the tortoise. The chapter about the tortoise unfortunately throws no light at all upon the functions of this animal. All that we know is that it was the deadly adversary of Rā. "Life to Rā, Death to the Tortoise," is what, in the Turin Ritual (ch. 161), is written on each of the four gates of heaven. We are here in a region of conjecture, but the hieroglyphic sign of the tortoise, so similar in form to the scarabæus (the recognized symbol of the Sun) that Mr. Goodwin was positive that it was meant for a beetle, and its name *šetà*, or *šetu*,[1] apparently akin to the word *šetà*, to cover, lead me to identify it with the *Eclipse*. It certainly represents a small and rounded form which occasionally covers the sun. The primitive Egyptians who could not know the Law which governs the Eclipse, never deified the tortoise, considered as the adversary of the Sun. There is, however, a star of this name among the Decans, who of course is considered as a god.

In the later days of the mythology all the phenomena interfering with the Sun's light were confounded together, and identified with one another: Set, Akar, Apepi, the Tortoise, Tebha, and others. But texts of this period are of no authority unless they are confirmed by those of the better

[1] The name *āpšet* is founded on an erroneous division of words in the title of Todt., 36, *re en χesef ā pe šet*.

periods. When Egyptologists speak of something *Typhonic*, they can only do so with accuracy in reference to the later centuries of the Egyptian religion. Tebha is not genuine Egyptian; it is borrowed from the Greek Typhon = τυφλός.[1]

The Serpent in most mythologies is the representative of cloud. I shall here only speak of two mythical serpents: the first represents a morning cloud. Sebak, one of the forms of the Sun, we are told in chapters 108 and 111, is the lord of the mountain of Buchat in the Eastern sky, and he has a temple of crystal there; and on the brow of that mountain there is a serpent of 300 cubits in length, and 10 cubits in breadth; three cubits in front of him are of flint, and when the time of Rā approaches, he turns down his eyes towards Rā. There is perhaps a mythological meaning in the word *ṭes*, flint, for flint in Egyptian, as in Indo-European mythology, is connected with the thunderbolt. The allusion may therefore be to a thunder cloud.

But the most important serpent is the great dragon Apepi. He has been confounded with a so-called giant Apophis, because ⲁⲫⲱⲫ signifies giant in Coptic. Genuine Egyptian mythology knows nothing of such a giant. The etymology is clear enough. *Âp* signifies *ascend, mount up. Apepi* is *that which mounts up.* It is the mythical name of Cloud as the enemy of the Sun. The serpent is described in the texts at Bibān-el-maluk, as "having no eyes,[1] nose, or ears, but *roaring* as it comes along." The picture represents him with twelve heads rising through his back. These heads, which have been swallowed by him, are made to come forth through the blows inflicted upon him by the servants of Rā. The word "head" may perhaps convey a double meaning. The Egyptian word *ḥotep*,[2] when accompanied by the determinative, and

[1] *ubar*, "the blind one," is a name of Apepi in the inscriptions of the base period. (Myth of Cacus, or Caeculus, = caecus.)

[2] is one of those words in which the sign has the value *ḥotep*. This is certain, from the variants in which the sign appears. Compare Brugsch, *Lexicon*, B. 7, p. 1322, with an article of Dümichen in *Zeitschr.*, 1873, p. 118. It is wonderful that Brugsch (who has certainly read this article) shuts his eyes to such direct variants as = , not to mention others.

even without it, means either "headland," as I suggested some time ago, or, at all events, some other kind of land. The reappearance of headlands or other scenery, which had been concealed by fog or cloud, may be alluded to.

"the Roarer," is one of the names of Apepi in the Bremner Papyrus, and, like the text just referred to, points to the thunder-cloud. The same conclusion seems to be derivable from the 39th chapter of the Book of the Dead; but the text of this chapter is in so unsatisfactory a condition as not at present to admit of accurate translation. In this chapter the Sun-god, in his conflict with Apepi, is called *Rā àm sautet*, "Ra in a flutter." The word *sautet* signifies trembling, quivering, quaking, palpitating, and in this place refers to the appearance of the Sun as seen through a cloud passing over it. This state of trepidation is not confined to Ra. "Seb standeth still in terror, the company of the mighty gods is in a quake." The storm-cloud is clearly intended.

The seventh chapter of the Book of the Dead speaks of "advancing over (or passing through) the high ridges of Apepi, *which are void*," and the 99th chapter of guiding a boat over "*this void ridge*" of Apepi. It invokes the "lord of curtains" and the "lord of the cloud," that is, the "veiled" or "clouded" one, namely, the Sun-god. The ridges which have to be passed over or pierced are ridges of cloud. Apepi is said to be *kesen*, a word which was long since shown to signify void, empty. The inscription of the Gold Mines says that the road was *deficient* in water, *uat kesenta her mu*. There is no reason whatever for impugning this signification. The tablet of

Canopus has *hāti-sen kesen ḥer χeper*, "their hearts *failed* at the occurrence." This is perfectly consistent with the Greek version, *πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταπεπληγμένων ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι.* The passages of the Prisse papyrus in which the word occurs are equally consistent with the old interpretation of the word.

Apepi is overcome by the fire and flinty sword (*ṭes*) of the Sun-god, and is forced back into his cavern (*χebt*), and over him (according to a text at Dendera) is placed a stone "of forty cubits," while the devouring flame preys upon his bones.

The *tree* is another mythical representation of cloud. It never appears otherwise than as a joyful or beneficent phenomenon. The evergreen sycamore, which is the most beautiful tree of Egypt, the persea, the olive, and the tamarisk are the principal trees of the mythology. They are suggestive of coolness and refreshment.

"I know," says the Book of the Dead (chapters 109, 2 and 149, 7), "that sycamore of Emerald, through the midst of which the Sun-god Rā proceeds as he advances to what Shu has raised at the eastern gate of heaven."[1]

The emerald colour (*māfka*) here specially characterising the tree has reference to the beautiful green tints of dawn and sunset. Dr. Thompson, in his "Introduction to Meteorology" (p. 76), speaks of a "curious phenomenon which rarely occurs in this climate—the existence of green clouds. This happens in the mornings and evenings, when a thin cloud is illuminated at once by the yellow rays of the sun, and the bright azure of the upper sky, their contrasted colours producing a green by mixture." But even in this climate the bright-

[1] At a later time we read (on the Metternich Stèle), in connection with the Dawn (), of the "Goose Egg which comes forth from the Sycamore" . This has reference to the Egg of Seb in Todt., 54, and other chapters. The sun is here considered as an egg laid by that great cackling goose, the earth.

green streaks near the horizon are, at certain seasons, of great beauty.[1]

The sycamore of Hathor is mentioned in ch. 52; the Osiris eats beneath its shade. On a papyrus at Dublin the Osiris prays that he may be under the sycamore of Hathor at the rising of Horus.

The sycamore of Nut is the Rain-cloud. The water of heaven seems to have been considered as bringing with it refreshment to the dead. The vignette of the Ritual is well known which represents a tree out of which the hand of the goddess pours out water to the deceased. The prayer of the 59th chapter is confined to these words: "O Sycamore of Nut, give me the water which is in thee"; but a vase of the Louvre adds the reply of the goddess: "Receive the libation from my two hands. I am thy mother; I bring thee the vases with abundance of water to appease thy heart with refreshment; breathe thou the breezes which come from me, that thy flesh may live thereby; for it is I who give water to every mummy, who give breezes to those who are breathless, to those whose bodies are hidden, and to those who have no tomb. I am with thee, and I reunite to thee thy soul, so that it may never be parted from thee."

There is a request to a similar effect in chapter 152, in behalf of the deceased: "O Sycamore of Nut, *who refreshest those who are in Amenti*, let thy hands be laid upon his limbs, protecting him from the heat, and refreshing him under thy

[1] The green cap or mantle (*nememes uat'*) of the Double Lion of Dawn (Todt., 78, 19) has the same meaning. So has the "green stone" at the neck of Rā (Todt., 103, 3). The golden Hawk has wings of green (ch. 77) as he comes forth. In later times Hathor is addressed (Dümichen, *Resultate*, 18, 1) as "diademed with emerald and vested with green." "Thy countenance is tinted with the emerald colour," she is told (*Rec.* iv, 71 and 75), "of fresh emerald, thou art green like the green-stone of Buchat." The dawn-goddess, Uat'it, whose name signifies *greenness*, or the *green one*, is called, like Hathor, *nebt χesteb māfka teḥen*, "mistress of sapphire, emerald, and saffron," *i.e.*, she is conspicuous by these colours. *Māfka* and *teḥen*, "emerald and saffron" (or some other *yellow* colour, see *Zeitschr.*, 1867, p. 66) are the tints of the Dawn, Todt., 80, 7. The Book of the Dead (160, 2) mentions *nesem*, "green felspar," as one of the names of the Dawn-god, Shu. The green colour of the frog is a clue to the meaning of the ancient goddess *Heqat*.

boughs, which give the north-wind to the Resting Heart in his everlasting home."

The best commentary on this *tree* in the *sky* which yields both *water* and *wind* may be found in Mr. Ruskin's words about Rain-clouds: "They are not solid bodies borne about by the wind, but they carry the wind with them and cause it. Every one knows who has ever been out in a storm that the time when it rains heaviest is precisely the time when he cannot hold up his umbrella, that the wind is carried with the cloud and lulls when it has passed."

The sun under a light cloud was called (ch. 42) "the great god within the tamarisk, *âsru.*" The olive-tree *beq*, represents the *brightness* of the Dawn. The word *beq* signifies bright, clear, shining; *beqa* or *beka* is the Dawn. The god called *χer beqa-f*, "who is under his olive," already in the earliest monuments, was supposed by M. de Rougé to be Osiris, and by M. Lefébure to be Thoth. It is no other than Ptah, the Opener.[1]

Other trees represent the same mystery. The great Cat under the Persea tree is explained in the 17th chapter as being the Sun-god Rā himself, and the Persea here plays the same part as the Sycamore of Emerald. Rā, as a Cat, is about to crush the head of the Serpent.

There are other well-known pictures representing the sarcophagus of Osiris under a tree. Two are given by Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd series, III, p. 349.[2] In the first of them, taken from the tomb at Hou, the bird called *bennu* is seated upon the branches of a tamarisk, and by him is written , "the soul of Osiris." The bird and the inscription are equally significant. The Egyptian texts, from the Book of the Dead down to the latest times, assert that "Rā is the soul of Osiris."[3] And the *bennu* bird, according to the same authority, represents the Dawn-god, .

[1] See Burton, *Excerpta*, pl. 56, or Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 904, and *Denkm*, iv., 22.

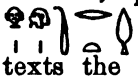
[2] Compare Plutarch, *de Isid.*, 21.

[3] The real meaning of this seems to be, that Osiris is dead, but rises again as Rā. Osiris is yesterday's sun, Rā that of to-day.

In the second picture, which is taken from the temple at Philae, the sun is represented as rising from the foot of the tree. Such is the true "mystery of Osiris at Senmut and at Philae." If the Egyptians of the latest periods understood this mystery as signifying that "water is the origin of all things," this merely proves what in the nature of things might have been expected—that the true sense of their mythology was utterly forgotten.

There are pictures also at Dendera[1] in which the sarcophagus of Osiris is overshadowed by a tree.

Horus of Bahutet, that is the Dawn-god, is likewise to be seen at Edfu, sitting within a Persea tree.[2] An inscription in the same temple mentions another tree, the *âbu*, of Horus.[3] The Bulaq papyrus (No. 2) gives the picture of a bird sitting in front of a Persea tree.

Another text, published by M. Pierret,[4] speaks of the Bennu, that is the Dawn-gods, who are  "on the willows."

In all these and similar texts the tree[5] is the light morning cloud or transparent mist on the horizon.

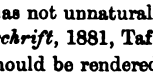
The same interpretation must be given to the myth of Isis suckling the infant Horus under bushes of marsh plants.[6]

The rainbow is of course a comparatively rare phenomenon in Egypt, but it is so extremely beautiful and striking a one, that we can hardly imagine it to have been passed over in a mythological view of things. It holds a conspicuous place in mythologies known to us. It is Iris, a messenger between heaven and earth; it is the bow of Indra; the bridge Bifröst of the Northmen; the path to the Brahmanic Svarga; the ladder by which New Zealand chieftains climb to heaven. It is a living monster, according to the Karens of Burmah;

[1] Mariette, *Dendérah*, tom. IV, pl. 66. [2] Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pl. xx.

[3] J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions à Edfou*, pl. 87.

[4] *Etudes Egyptologiques*, p. 57. *Cf.* Sharpe, *E.I.*, 1, 117, line 16.

[5] An allusion to the Tree of Life has not unnaturally been seen in the newly discovered texts published in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, Taf. IV[b], line 18. I believe that  *χet en ânχ*, should be rendered *staff of life*, rather than *tree of life*. The expression is found in Pap. Leyden, I, 347, pl. 7, and *Denkm.*, VI, 118.

[6] For instructive pictures, *see* Wilkinson, III, pl. 33; Leemans, *Mon.*, I, pl. XII, 1053, and XIII, 1056; and Golenischeff, *Metternichstele*, pl. 3, XIV, and 6, XXXVIII.

in Dahome it is "Danh the heavenly Snake." But it is also the necklace of Freyja, the girdle of our Blessed Lady in Zante, or the hem of the Kamschadale god's raiment.[1]

I cannot point with certainty to any corresponding myths in Egyptian literature. A bow is indeed once mentioned in the Book of the Dead (132, 1), and the Lion-god is said to issue from it. There may also possibly be a reference to the rainbow in the heavenly fishes Antu and Abtu (Todt., 15, 24, 25). But I am most strongly inclined to identify with the rainbow the bright girdle (*sat*) of Rā, which is mentioned in Todt., 110, *a*, line 4. The manuscripts are unfortunately not agreed as to the text. That of the papyrus of Sutimes reads as follows:—

tes-nà sat Rā às χa-pet.

I put on the stole of Rā, and lo the rain-fall!

The sense of this is perfectly clear. But four other papyri, viz., Salt. 828, that of Nebseni, the Leyden hieratic papyrus T. 16, published in Leemans' *Monuments*, III, pl. 24, and the Turin papyrus published by Lepsius, agree in the *dura lectio* *χennu pet*, instead of *χa pet*.[2] The latter

[1] Most of these myths are referred to in Mr. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* and *Early History of Mankind*. But a much more copious list will be found in Pott's "Benennungen des Regenbogen" in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, II, 414.

[2] The first part of this compound word signifies *fall;* in Egyptian , the Coptic representative of which is ϩⲉ, ϩⲉⲓ, *cadere, decidere*, or, as a noun, *casus, lapsus, plaga, ruina*. [It is remarkable that Zoega (p. 412, note) explains a common meaning of ϩⲉ M. ϭⲉ.... by *casus* inde *modus*.] The Egyptian noun, which occurs without a determinative on the Constantinopolitan obelisk of Thothmes III, has for determinative *a fallen man* , Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 22; , *Denkm.*, III, 129; and Pianchi Tablet, line 28, , *Denkm.*, III, 130, and in the great inscription of Menepthah, Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 55. All these are variants of one and the same word. The transitive *fell, felling*, is found under the form *χai*.

expression, which recurs in Todt., 135, 1, signifies a fall of the sky, a shower. It it used as the synonym of *ḥetu*, rain, in one of those paraphrases which are so common in the temples of Edfu and Dendera.[1] The more usual reading is, I confess, unintelligible to me. Stormy weather might be

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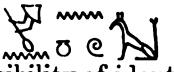
[Perhaps the word *χu*, 'felled wood,' may be derived from this.] The very common word *χat*, 'a dead body,' owes its origin to the same notion as the Greek πτῶμα and the Latin *cadaver*. "*E caddi come corpo morto cade.*" The same notion (as in our 'pit-*fall*') gives the clue to the sense of several ancient Egyptian words, such as *χau*, 'mines,' *χa-set*, the pit in which the mummy was buried. *χatu em χat*, are probably 'dejectiones ab alvo.' The senses of collapse and dissolution are not less evident in other words of kindred origin.

The word *ha*, which sometimes implies falling, might seem to claim affinity with the Coptic ϩϵ. But it has no affinity with *χa*, and it is only in a secondary sense that it signifies falling. The Coptic ϩϵ is however found = the Greek στοιχεῖν. It is probable, therefore, that as frequently happens in the history of language (*see* Max Müller, *Science of Language*, II, p. 318), two different Egyptian words have assumed the same form in Coptic.

χu pet (*Antiquités*, Vol. V, pl. 48), is manifestly another form of *χa pet*, and has its Coptic representative in ϩⲟⲩⲣⲡⲉ, *rain*. If such a form as *χu nu* (𓅱) *pet* existed as early as the time of Nebseni, it is not impossible that it may have given rise (through dictation) to the reading *χennu pet*.

[The word , which occurs in this note, is read *χra-āxt* by Brugsch, and identified with the Coptic ϩⲉⲗⲗⲟⲩ, which he translates *Wady*. But it is only through a mistake that has been confounded with another hieroglyphic sign = (*see Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 41). It is certainly polyphonous, but the only demonstrable values of it are (1) *s*, as in = , and in , where it occurs as a variant of , or ; and (2) *sep*, as the equivalent of in a royal name. But *āat*, I repeat, is a mistake; or at all events the proofs hitherto given are founded on a mistake. *Chaset*, also written , Champollion, *Notices*, I, 774, also 775, is the *χesaut* of the Rhind Papyri, the Egyptian Sheol.]

[1] Dümichen, *Tempelinschriften*, I, 30, lines 1 and 6.

represented by  *χenennu*, but there is, as far as I can see, no possibility of identifying with this word the group which occurs in the four manuscripts I have mentioned.

This might naturally seem to be the place to speak of the myths of Fire. But the subject is one which deserves a dissertation for itself. The texts having reference to it are exceedingly numerous, and they require to be very accurately sifted and interpreted. The results of the investigation when fully completed cannot fail to be eminently interesting.[1]

I have not the pretension of exhausting even that portion of the subject to which I have specially desired to draw attention, but if I am not entirely mistaken, a key is now at our service, which if intelligently used will gradually open to us all, or at least most of, the mysteries of the Book of the Dead.

[1] Among the results which I mentioned at the time this paper was read, is the belief entertained by the Egyptians that fire from heaven, proceeding from the sun, is disseminated through all plants and living things, and specially in the soul of man. With this belief is probably connected the ceremony of "kindling the light," *set teka*, in memory of the dead. And the clause in the Negative Confession, "I have not extinguished a flame at its birth," acquires a deeper meaning.

APPENDIX ON THE WORD *nutrà.*[1]

The Alexandrian Greeks invented a barbarous word *δυναμόω*, which they and their followers used exactly as the Egyptians used . Dindorf quotes from Panaretus (*Chron. Trapez.*) *ἐδυνάμωσε τὸ κάστρον.* I quote the following parallels out of many similar texts at Dendera, Edfu, and Philae.

Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, 46, 6; *cf.* 15, 17, and 19.

Ibid., II, 6, 3.

Dümichen, *Tempelinschr.*, I, 78.

Ibid.

Recueil, III, 42.

Some passages in which the word occurs might suggest that *purification* was meant, but others show that the wider sense of fortifying or protection against harm is signified. Religious purification is one kind of protection.[2] Hence the deceased says

[1] This word is simply written in royal titles, such as , , where it does not signify god or divine. But apart from such titles, it is distinguished from the word signifying *god* by its phonetic complements or determinatives , , , . The word admits of the reduplication , as in the obelisk of queen Hat-shepsu, and of the intensive form .

[2] From this point of view, *nutrà* is most naturally found in parallelism with the words and .

"may I be fortified or protected by seventy purifications" (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 63 *f*), just as Christians at the present day speak of being "*fortified* by the sacraments of the Church."

But the notion of protection is itself derived from that of *might*. Thus is a frequent expression in the texts of Dendera and Edfu, "splendid and mighty stones" (*Tempelinschr.*, I, 9); "adorned with mighty stones" (*Dend.*, III, 20); "To thee the Coptite Nome has come forth with its mighty stones" (*Dend.*, IV, 75); "He is like the son of Ptah in raising up columns from the mighty stones furnished by the 10th nome of the South." In *Dendérah*, I, 67, etc., has the paraphrase The sense of greatness or might, which is so evident in these texts, will be found to explain *every single instance* in which the word occurs throughout the whole course of the language. Physical might is the primitive meaning of the word, and other meanings are only derived from it.

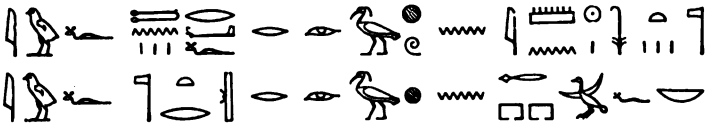
Dr. Brugsch in his Dictionary[1] noticed the equivalence or parallelism of and *χu, protect*, in Hieroglyphic and Demotic texts. Several other words are equally found in parallelism with , and this parallelism is found not only in the course of one and the same text, as, *e.g.*:—

[1] Page 825: "Häufig in Parallelismus mit *χu*, daher auch die jeweilige demot. Uebersetzung, *χui*." But I think *χu* means "exercise protection," and that this is the meaning of such expressions as "*sacred* animals," "*sacred* plants," "sacred crown," etc., where *sutrà* is the word translated *sacred*.

(Sharpe, *E.I.*, II, 28), "great (*urâ*) is the Eye of Horus, mighty (*āa*) the Eye of Horus, strong (*nutrâ*) the Eye of Horus, the giver of might (*senutrâ*) is the Eye of Horus," but running through names and titles current in a dynasty, like in the pyramids, called , , and . The connection of these names is as intentional as the use of the adjectives in the phrase *nutrâ men mâ pet*, "strong and durable as heaven" (Mariette, *Karnak*, plate 35).

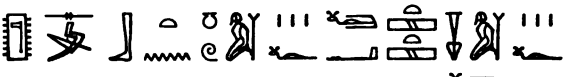
The royal name *Nutrâ-ka-rā* which is No. 40 on the Tablet of Abydos, signifies very much the same as No. 41 *Men-ka-rā*. *Tat-ka-rā*, *Se-ānχ-ka-rā*, and such other names are more or less synonymous. So again the royal titles , of Usertsen III are but emphatic expressions of (Amenemhat I) and (Usertsen II). And Amenemhat III, the successor of Usertsen III, took the title of *āa baiu*. If we pass on to the XVIIIth dynasty we meet the same system in the names of *Sor-ka-rā*, *Men-χeper-rā*, *Aa-χeper-rā*, etc., and in the royal titles of Thothmes II, of Thothmes III, of Thothmes IV, and of *Chut-en-aten*. All these royal titles have the same grammatical construction as 'swift-handed.' They are attributive compounds like *μακρόχειρ*, *longimanus*, *μεγαλόπους*. And the notion which is common to the words *urâ*, *āa*, *men*, *ṭaṭ*, *ānχ*, *uaḥ*, *nem*, and *nutrâ*, is might, strength, vigour, magnify.

I have in my Hibbert Lectures quoted passages where it is said of the king—

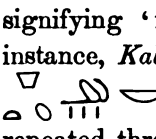
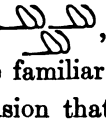


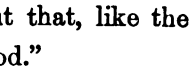
where the parallel word to is 'strong, vigorous.'

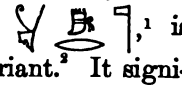
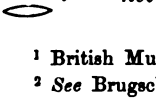
In texts of the latest period the same parallelism is found—



where the word corresponding to *nutrà* is 'vigorous-handed.'

In texts of this period, *peḥ*, the well known word signifying 'might,' is used as a synonym of . See, for instance, *Kalenderinschr.*, 67, 3, where the goddess is called  , and a passage in the *Tempelinschr.*, I, which is repeated three times (pl. 37, 38, and 39) with  , and three times (pl. 40, 41, and 42) with the more familiar .

All this points unmistakably to the conclusion that the frequent expression  *nutár nutrà*, is not the mere tautology "godlike god," "deus divinus," but that, like the Hebrew אֵל שַׁדַּי, it signifies "all-powerful god."

There is another word with which is certainly akin. This, as pointed out by the orthography  ,[1] is  *net'er*, which again has as a variant.[2] It signi-

[1] British Museum, E.S. 375, referred to in Dr. Birch's Dictionary.

[2] *See* Brugsch's Dictionary (Supplement), where a very different account of the word is given. It is there connected with the Hebrew נָטַל *sustulit*, and this with נָטַד *tetendit!* Etymological science of this kind is extremely easy, but it is certainly not plausible. Were I a believer in the relationship between Egyptian and Semitic, I should explain , and by נָטַר and the kindred נָצַר, نطر, نظر, and نصر. In these Semitic words, as in the Latin *tueor*, we have the double notion of sight and protection, guarding and regarding.

fies *overpowering, having the mastery, dominari.* It occurs very frequently in the "*Triumphs* of Horus" at Edfu.[1] *net'er Hau net'er*, "overpowering is Horus, overpowering"! is often repeated. *net'er χemt nub en Ptahu*, "overpowering is the lance which Ptah hath forged." "overpowering is the gust of wind in Chebiat." The same meaning is found in the older texts. The Litanies of Rā pray , etc., "let them not overpower king N," adding the parallelism "let them not obtain the mastery," etc. It occurs in the Book of the Dead, 136, 10, where it signifies "having the mastery" of one's staff; and in 144, 10, where the parallel expression used is "resistless." It occurs in this sense throughout the inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Seti I.

M. de Rougé, on the inscription of Aahmes, explains the name *net'ert*, of the hour of noon, by the Coptic ⲛⲟⲭ, *recumbere*, as expressive of the time of siesta. It means the "dominant, overpowering" one. Another name for it is *āḥāit*, the reverse of "recumbent."

The only reason which suggested to M. E. de Rougé the sense of "renew" is the determinative , which so frequently accompanies the word *nutrà* as adjective or verb. But the sign is here simply a determinative of the sound *trà*, and is found attached to all words ending in this syllable,[2] what-

[1] *See* Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, I, 6, 9; II, 1, 2, 3, 4; III, 3, 4; IV, 9, 10; V, 1, etc. From the physical the intellectual sense of mastery is derived.

[2] The form is very frequent, but is not to be read *nutri*. It is, I believe, a mistake to look upon \\ as a phonetic character = *i*. It has various uses, and among others it represents the place of a vowel, whether that be *a*, *i*, or *u*. There is a word Mariette, *Abydos* I, plate 7, the determinative of which points to some such meaning as ϯⲛⲟⲩϩϯ *consolari*. This is perhaps the key to the meaning of the festival for the dead called *nutri*.

ever be their meaning: 𓋴𓏏𓂋 'season,' 𓋴𓏏𓂋𓅱𓅓𓏏𓊪 'a willow tree,' 𓋴𓏏𓂋𓅱𓅓𓏏𓂝 'address,' the enclitic particle 𓋴𓏏𓂋 'pray'! 𓋴𓏏𓂋𓂋𓂋𓂋 'behold,' 𓋴𓏏𓂋𓂋𓂋𓂋 'join,' 𓋴𓏏𓂋𓂋𓂋𓂋 a 'horse,' 𓋴𓏏𓂋𓂋𓂋𓂋 'tribute,' 𓋴𓏏𓂋𓂋𓂋𓂋

AKKADIAN PRECEPTS FOR THE CONDUCT OF MAN IN HIS PRIVATE LIFE.

By George Bertin, M.R.A.S.

Read 2nd May, 1882.

When we call to mind the early attempts of Oriental scholars in deciphering the Cuneiform inscriptions, we cannot but admire the courage and boldness of those who opened the field for us. The way once indicated, they advanced steadily; what was doubtful at first was either confirmed or rejected; little by little the ground became firmer. Though it is always with respect that we pronounce the names of such men as Hincks and Norris, the time has come when we are able to revise, correct and improve the first translations, as many more texts are at our disposal, and a better acquaintance with them enables us to understand the real value of each word.

When the inscriptions were read for the first time, everything was new, the decipherer had to go from hypothesis to hypothesis, and many passages and expressions remained enigmatic to him. Many of these enigmas are now explained. For instance, the long contest of the Akkadists and Sumerists has been solved in an unexpected manner. The bilingual texts and trilingual lists have revealed the existence of another tongue beside the Akkadian, *i.e.*, the Sumerian, perhaps the popular dialect of that time. A fact worthy of note is that many of the Akkadian ideograms and words have been adopted by the Semites with their Sumerian value and pronunciation. However, as the Sumerians seem to have inhabited the southern, and the Akkadians the northern

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part of Babylonia,[1] it may be that the Sumerian or Akkadian words were introduced into the Semitic tongue[2] when the reigning power was in the south or the north.

It is not necessary at this time to treat on the question whether Akkadian or Sumerian is the most ancient dialect, or whether they were contemporary; but the study of the syllabaries shows us that what we call Akkadian was considered to be the classic tongue. The texts of each dialect have a different character; in Akkadian we have historical records, magical incantations, hymns, &c.; the Sumerian texts consist mostly of litanies, and none are historical. We may, however, still hope to find Sumerian historical inscriptions, as one of the Babylonian dynasties was Sumerian.[3]

What has just now been said about the progress of Assyriology is well illustrated by the study of the syllabaries. At first they were thought to be spelling books for the use of the Assyrians, afterwards Assyriologists, saw in them a kind of dictionary and grammatical exercises; but now we know that they are really commentaries on some standard works, to which may be compared the commentaries on Greek and Latin authors with glossaries and lists of words and sentences.

These commentaries, or so-called syllabaries, sometimes precede the texts they refer to, though they were generally done independently without giving the text analysed. They may be divided into two classes: the syllabaries proper giving the ideograms with their pronunciation and their Assyrian translation, and sometimes the technical name of the group; and the simple lists of words or sentences more or less connected.

It may be noticed here that though the words in those lists seem to have been classed according to their ideological

[1] The town of Akkad has been identified as being in the north of Babylonia; no town of the name of Sumer has yet been found; but the name under the form of شمر (*Shomer*) is still applied in our own time to the north-west portion of Arabia, bordering on what was Babylonia.

[2] The Akkadian inscriptions show that the Semites dwelt at the earliest period by the side of the Akkadians.

[3] *See* "Proceedings, Society of Biblical Archæology," 11th January, 1881: "Notes on the Lists of Kings," by Theo. G. Pinches.

relations, in some cases the scribe appears to have followed a certain philological order; but this question has not yet been studied enough to ascertain what was that order, and whether it was always the same, or changed with the scribe. This is, however, a point which deserves the attention of the philologist.

The study of Cuneiform writing has till now been almost exclusively philological, and for this reason many points have escaped notice. For instance, in the syllabaries the sign often takes the place of the Assyrian word translating the Akkadian expression. If Assyriologists had only thought that this sign represented the "hand," they would at once have guessed that it was a similar use to that among ourselves of the hand as pointer, the scribe thus expressed that the Assyrian word was the same as the Akkadian, just as we find the use of the sign in some modern dictionaries.

I am convinced that Archæology would be a powerful help to the Assyriologist, and that is why in my paper I have tried to throw light on Cuneiform texts by comparing the usages of other nations with those of the Akkadians and Assyrians.

Among the bilingual tablets (Akkadian and Assyrian) now in the British Museum, there are several belonging to the same series, written as is usual in bilingual lists, in two columns divided into paragraphs. They were at first thought to be philological tablets giving grammatical forms and models of sentences; when, however, all the tablets of the series are taken together and considered as forming part of the same work, their meaning and object become clear.

These texts give precepts or rules for the conduct of man in his various occupations.[1]

An important tablet (obverse and reverse) gives instructions for the agriculturist, when and how he is to prepare and sow his fields, build his house and barn, what are his relations towards his landlord in such and such circumstances.[2]

[1] This is supported by the very name of the series of tablets, *see* Notes, p. 258. It may also be noticed that sentences found in these texts appear sometimes in the contracts of the early Babylonian Empire.

[2] The tablet is published in W.A.I., II, pl. 14 and 15.

Another[1] gives instructions for trading transactions.

Another gives precepts for the conduct of man in his private life, and his duties towards his relatives.

It is this last text which I have chosen as the subject for consideration, because it has been, until the present attempt, translated from incomplete or defective copies, and for these reasons it has been generally misunderstood; and I think I can throw light on many customs mentioned therein.

Mr. Theo. G. Pinches has kindly offered to give me a new copy of the text, in which, by comparing various passages, he has been able to complete, as far as possible, the broken lines.

The commentary which covered, no doubt, the preceding tablet, extends till line 39 of the obverse. The text, which begins line 40, may be divided roughly into two parts: the first, extending as far as line 21, column 3, gives precepts for the conduct of life; the second enumerates the legal punishments for certain trespasses.

The crimes mentioned here are those of a husband against his wife, a son against his father or mother, and so forth. If this tablet was, as was first thought, a list of penal laws, it would no doubt make mention of thieving and killing. There was, however, some reason for calling this text a treatise on family laws: but the first part contains many paragraphs which have nothing to do with family laws, and treat only of marriage, dowry, &c.

If we have here not a code of laws, but precepts for the conduct of man in his private relations of life, it ought to commence, not with his childhood, but when he assumes his rights as a citizen.

The text at the outset states that at a certain time the child is declared to be a freeman, that is, he is declared to be of age. This age, as among the Jews, was no doubt twelve years; before that time the child was not considered to be answerable for his actions; he was not counted in a meeting to form a quorum; he was, in fact, "an infant" in the eyes of the law.[2]

[1] W.A.I., II, pl. 13.

[2] *Talmud*, translation of Schwab, Vol. I, p. 129, &c.

The second paragraph treats of the ceremony which follows the declaration that he was of age. It may correspond with the presentation in the Temple among the Jews, which took place at the age of twelve years. This age has also been retained by the Roman Catholics for the first religious ceremony in which the child, in his proper person, is party to, *i.e.*, the first communion.

The third and fourth paragraphs of the tablet speak of the first act of the child when he became a man, that is, paying tribute. The amount of the first tribute paid by him was double the usual sum, which recalls to mind the Jewish prescription of paying a double tribute every three years.

The two next paragraphs state that the child is henceforth answerable for his actions, and will bear the consequences of his sins. It is the same idea which makes the confession obligatory after this age among the Roman Catholics.

Though practically a citizen after the age of twelve years, and free as to his actions, the young man was still under the control of his father, as regards an important point, that of marriage; this seems to be implied by the first paragraph on the second column of the tablet, after a break of nineteen lines.[1] The same was certainly the custom among the Jews: for example, when Samson wished to marry Delilah, he begs his parents to ask for her from her parents. So Abraham, wishing to see his son married, and not being able to travel on account of his age, sends his servant to negotiate the marriage. Even the Philistine who had taken Dinah by force, sent his father to ask her hand from her father Jacob.

There were among the Akkadians several sorts of marriages, but only one was sacred: the young man, as was the custom with the Jews, was to marry a freeborn maiden. It is likely that these marriages were indissoluble, as may be inferred from a further paragraph.

[1] It will be seen further on that by the text of a Babylonian marriage contract or dowry bill, the arrangements *were made* by the parents of the new couple.

Among the Jews there were two sorts of wives, both legitimate, the ones called *nashim*,[1] that is, the chief wives, the ladies of the houses. A man could not have more than one of these. The chief wife had always power over the other wives. Those called *pilligshim* (פלגשים) or half wives, and not concubines, in our modern sense of the word, were really servants, or hand-maids. The custom and the distinction of these two kinds of wives has been retained to our days in the East, and is still kept up with a slight modification by the Mormons.

The Greeks and Romans had also two kinds of wives, but the inferiority of women in their eyes caused them to give no privilege to the chief wife, who could be divorced at pleasure.

As already mentioned, the chief wife was to be a free-born maiden. It was no doubt so with the Jews, as the laws of Moses stated that if a man seduced a freeborn maiden who had not been betrothed, he was to marry her, never repudiate her, and to pay a fine of forty shekels to the father. If a Jew took a free woman as a captive in war, he could not marry her at once, but she was compelled to mourn for thirty days; and even then, if he did not take her as his *chief wife*, he had no power to retain her as his wife, but after the marriage she could if she wished renounce him, and take her place in the world as a free woman.

There was a great difference between the betrothal of a *chief wife* and that of a *half wife;* the latter was "bought" from her father for a sum of money; the chief wife on the contrary was given with a dowry.

It is worthy of notice that this distinction of the two kinds of marriage was kept at Rome. In the patrician marriage performed before the Flamine the bride was given with a dowry, generally of one million of sesterces besides the trousseau; in the plebeian marriage, on the contrary, the bride was given by her father in exchange for a sum of money, and she accordingly occupied a position not much better than that of a slave.

[1] From נשא, "to forget," because the wife must forget her own family, to adopt that of her husband.

The paragraph treating of marriages and betrothals is unfortunately much broken, but enough of the Akkadian words remain to show to what this portion of the tablet refers. The ceremony of betrothal must, however, have existed among the Akkadians, as the word *betrothed* exists in the language. One of the misdeeds of the evil spirits when let loose was to make the young man desert his betrothed bride.

The ceremony of marriage was among the Jews performed ten days after the betrothal, before ten witnesses at least: we see Samson at his marriage with thirty companions.

The next paragraph is very interesting, as it treats of the gift or token made by the bridegroom. This gift was a drinking vessel, and especially a wine drinking vessel, called *passaru* in Assyrian, a word no doubt borrowed from the Akkadian *Banśur*. The Jewish marriage ceremony gives us again the explanation of this gift, as drinking of wine was indispensable to the ceremony.

At the marriage feast the chairman, or master of the banquet, took a cup of wine, and after blessing it, repeated a formula, "Blessed be thou," &c., and drank to the married couple.

The importance of the wine in the ceremony was such that, according to some, wine was specially kept to be used at the marriage of a son. We know the surprise of the chief of the feast at Cana when he found that the wine changed by Christ was better than the one kept for the marriage.

The custom of breaking a vase at the marriage ceremony may be also traced back to this drinking of wine. The marriage being indissoluble, the breaking of the drinking cup might mean that a second union was impossible.[1] It must be, however, a secondary development; so is also the strange usage attributed by some to the gipsies, and alluded to by M. Victor Hugo in "Notre Dame de Paris," of temporary marriages, the number of years of which is settled by the number of pieces of the broken vase.

[1] I think that the Rabbinical explanation of the ceremony mentioned by the Rev. A. Löwy, has been invented afterwards to explain a custom, the origin of which had been forgotten.

The last paragraph of the second column is hardly intelligible, but it seems to treat of purification, perhaps previous to or after the final ceremony.

The first paragraph of column 3 treats of the dowry given by the father in the case of a chief wife.

We possess only one tablet speaking of the dowry given with the bride.[1] It dates from the 34th year of Nebuchadnessar, and in it Ziria states that he gives, as dowry with his daughter, seven *mana* of silver, three slaves and their children.

The "dowry-bill" was written and given to the husband after the marriage ceremony, no doubt to express that the bride was taken for herself and not for her dowry. This is implied by the order of the paragraphs, and the same custom was observed by the Jews and the Romans.

In the "dowry-bill" above mentioned, it is stated that the husband settles on his wife the same amount or an equivalent of the dowry; this also was the custom among the Jews and the Romans. The latter wrote these contracts in the form of a dialogue, which is also the form of this Babylonian marriage contract.

The next paragraph is worded thus: "Henceforth the husband cannot renounce her, who possesses his heart." This rather enigmatic sentence only refers to the chief wife, who could not be repudiated, though I was at first inclined to think it meant that a man could not repudiate a wife by whom he had issue.

The first duty of the young husband was to build up an

[1] This tablet has been published and translated by M. Pinches in his paper, "Terra-cotta Tablets of Babylonia and Assyria," read 18th February, 1880, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, Vol. XXXV, p. 398. I think it will be as well to give here the translation of this interesting document:—

"Ziria, son of Nabu-ibni, child of Nabāca, spoke thus to Iddina-Marduk, son of Basā, child of Nur-Sin: 'I offer with my daughter Ina-e-sagilí-ramat as a gift, seven mana of silver, three slaves and children of Bit-elat, (besides) three mana of silver according to promise. The trustees, whom I had proposed (?) to Basā, have willingly approved (?) the amount.' Iddina-Marduk spoke thus to Ziria: 'Instead of the gift, which I give up, I settle on Ina-e-sagilí-ramat, my wife, the woman Ubarta and her three children, the woman Nada-kikarat and her two children, and my estate in the city of Uṣir, I give all under seal instead of the seven mana, gift of Ina-e-sagilí-ramat.'

Follow the names of the witnesses.

altar or shrine in the court of his house: the married couple could then enjoy their honeymoon in happiness and peace. Among the Jews the newly married man was dispensed, for a time, of his civil duties, and for this reason marriage was prohibited during time of war.

It is here the place to speak of a very interesting and important tablet communicated to me by Mr. Pinches, who has kindly copied and translated it. This tablet, which was unknown to me when I came to the conclusions brought forward in this paper, will be found to confirm all I have said. It belongs to the class called contract tablets, and contains the statement of a woman and the decision of the judge; the witnesses are mostly magistrates; but, contrary to usage, no seals accompany the names. The tablet seems to be a copy of the official document written for some party concerned in the matter, as are most of the contract tablets brought from Babylonia and Nineveh.

The woman, who is named Bunanitum, in her statement declares that she was married to Bin-Addu-natan,[1] and brought as dowry the sum of three mana of silver; after being married, her husband, *in order to be able to buy a house*, borrowed a sum of money. A daughter was born to them, but no male issue, and they therefore adopted a son. The wife, being left a widow, now claims back her dowry: hence this statement. The magistrate decided that the house and other properties should be sold by the trustees, and that after providing for the child, and paying back the loan with the interest on it, the widow should receive her dowry back, or a proportion of it.

This document proves that it was customary for young married couples to get a house of their own, as we see it stated in these precepts. And further that, as among the Greeks, Romans, and elsewhere, it was a rule, in default of male issue in the direct line, to adopt a male child to perpetuate the name of the family.[2]

[1] Ben-hadad-nathan.

[2] From other texts it seems clear that the male child adopted was really to become son-in-law by his marriage with the only daughter; so was, indeed, the Greek custom.

The Jewish law required that the first child should be consecrated to God: the same custom may have been in use among the Akkadians, as implied by the paragraph, though still obscure, in which it is said that the father must place "the son of his court in his shrine."[1]

These two words, "son of the court," may mean *the eldest son.* In ancient times, sons were called the pillars of the house. The word *zikaru*, "man," has been derived from the Hebrew *zakar*, "to remember."

The next paragraph is much broken, but seems, from what still remains, to treat of the nursing of the child.

In line 15, forming a paragraph by itself, the verb is lost; it has been, however, translated, "he (the child) must not deny his father and his mother."

The next paragraph states that he must not follow a strange woman.[2]

The paragraph contained in a single line (29) shows how highly estimated was learning in the eyes of the Akkadians: "he (the father) makes him (the child) learn inscriptions."

The Akkadians, and after them their pupils the Assyrians and Babylonians, had a real veneration for all written documents, and especially for literary productions. The first thought of the Assyrian conquerors is to carry away the literary treasures of the Babylonian cities, in order to enrich the Ninevite library. The Babylonian tablets were not only carried off, but were copied and transcribed, as the Babylonian writing was sufficiently unlike that of the Assyrians to render its reading difficult without a special training: it may be noticed that some of the finest specimens of the Babylonian style of writing are from the hands of Ninevite scribes. The King Assurbanipal, though a great warrior, always took a lively interest in the progress of the royal library, and reports were made to him from time to time of the progress of copying and transcribing. Seeing the great interest shown for learning, we must not be surprised to see stated in these precepts that one of the duties of the father is to have his

[1] The story of Micah (Judges xvii) shows that customs very similar to those prevailed in Palestine at the times of the Judges.

[2] *Cf.* Prov. vii.

son taught how to read and write; the Akkadians and the Assyrians seem to have had for writing the same veneration as the Chinese.

The Jews may have brought from Babylon, after their captivity, their taste for learning. After the time of Esdras all the children were sent to school, and it was customary for a traveller coming into a town to ask of the children which verse of the sacred books they had for their lesson that day, and to take it as an omen; the same custom prevails among the Mahomedans, among whom the Koran is the only book standard in the schools.

The paragraph contained in lines 20–21 says, "he (the father) makes him (the son) take a wife." As we have seen, the chief wife was always asked for by the parents of the young man; this was the last act of authority of the father. When was this act performed? We cannot say, for the Assyrian line of the inscription is broken, and the Akkadian is still obscure. The Mosaic law says, "at the fit time"; the Jews generally married before the age of twenty, after which age they could be called to fight at any moment; the "fit time" was therefore between the age of twelve and twenty.

After this last act of paternal authority the father and son came alike under the common law; that may be expressed by line 22, though the line is obscure, and its real meaning may escape me.

Here begins the second part of the text, containing a list of penal laws: but before going through them, it will be necessary to examine the meaning of a sentence which occurs in every paragraph; it runs thus:—

"Thou art not my father, or my mother, or my son," etc., as the case may be. It has been translated by the verb "deny," which will do very well if taken in one of its meanings. For instance, when the text says that a son says to his mother, "thou art not my mother," it is a poetical way of saying that he refuses to perform the duties of a son towards her.

In my translation the word "deny" is retained, but it must be understood that it is to be taken in this sense.

The first paragraph treats of the duties which the son owes to his father, though he is no more under his power. If a son "denies" his father, the latter cuts off the hair of the son, that is, treats him as a slave and sells him as such. The Akkadian has an interesting variant, "he cuts his nails," says the text. Long nails seem therefore to have been the mark of freedom, as long hair and beard were among the Semites. The slaves and people of low condition are always represented on the bas-reliefs as being shaved.

The Akkadian law was severe for a son who "denied" his mother. He was made an eunuch and slave, put to the pillory in the middle of the town, and "sent away from the house," *i.e.*, perhaps out-lawed. If a father "denied" his son, he was simply expelled from his house. The same penalty was enforced against the mother who denied her son. There is, however, a difference between the punishment of the father and mother which escapes us, as some words are still obscure.[1]

The two first paragraphs of column 4 treat of the husband. If he injures his wife in such way that she says "thou art not my husband," the husband is thrown into the river. We have here no doubt a trial by ordeal,[2] similar to the one ordered in the Mosaic law to test the jealous suspicion of a husband.

If a husband denied his wife, that is if he refused her food and garments, her rights, he had to pay half a *mana* of silver. This paragraph is still obscure, as to obtain the above meaning we must suppose a mistake of the Assyrian scribe in his translation.

The last paragraph is very interesting, as it treats of the duties of a master towards his servants; having hired a servant, if he kills him or in any way causes his death, or by his bad treatment makes him run away, or overworks him and thus causes him to be ill, the master will have to pay for every day a fine of half a measure of corn (as compensation).

[1] See note p. 267.

[2] It may be, however, that Mr. Rylands may be right, and that we have here an early record of "ducking." See note 268.

In order to understand this last paragraph, it must be remembered that among the Akkadians and Babylonians the slaves were lent out on hire as horses are with us. In this case it is therefore stated that a man who causes the death or escape of a hired slave must pay a compensation to the proprietor of the slave.

There is in the British Museum collection an interesting contract tablet,[1] telling of a man who lent his slave on the condition that the hirer would teach him a trade. This proves that there were to be found among the Akkadians and Babylonians the same customs as existed among the Greeks and Romans, where the slave dealers had their slaves taught some accomplishment or trade in order to be able to let them out on hire.

Another tablet[2] also illustrates this law. It states that Idiḫi-Hana had to pay one *mana* as compensation to Sarru-kinu for the death of his slave.

I may add here that we must not be surprised to find the Akkadian customs surviving through so many centuries; the Akkadians being the civilisers of Mesopotamia, their customs must have been adopted largely by the Babylonian Semites, and by them diffused through the other Semitic lands. The same happened in the case of the Greek and Roman customs, which during the Roman Empire spread into all Western and South-Eastern Europe, and in the Middle Ages through the rest of Europe. The Roman laws have been in the present century taken as the basis of the French code, and are still studied by students for the Bar. Many passages in the inscriptions and contracts show that the Akkadian manners and customs have at all times been in force in Babylonia and Assyria.

I have now given a sketch of the customs contained in this most interesting tablet, and have endeavoured to explain them by those of other countries. Of course this attempt might have been much extended, and I cannot help thinking that working on the same lines, much valuable information might be gained from other records.

[1] Unpublished.

[2] This unpublished tablet, dated 40th year of Nebuchadnezzar, has been translated by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches ("Records of the Past," Vol. XI, p. 92).

Before giving the transliteration and close translation, it is necessary to say a few words on the method followed by scholars in translating these texts. The systems may be divided into several schools or classes, each following a different method. The first is that which translates Assyrian with the help of other Semitic languages: though sometimes misleading, this process gave at first very good results.

The German school, led by Professor Delitzsch, adopted a new method, and tried to find the real meaning of the words by comparing with one another the various bilingual passages.[1] Scientific though this system may at first appear, it has many defects, for it is as if we were to try the difficult, not to say impossible task (supposing that we knew English and French no better than we know Assyrian and Akkadian), of reconstructing the grammar and syntax, and fixing the meaning of all the words in each tongue, with no other help than bilingual texts. The danger of such a system is evident, when we remember that the genius of the two tongues being different, the syntax of each often requires different, and even opposed, moods and tenses; and it would be next to impossible to reconstuct their syntax and grammar without the help of cognate languages.[2] It must also not be forgotten that the difficulty is still greater with Akkadian and Assyrian, as these two languages do not appear to belong to the same family of speech.

Assyrian, like all other Semitic tongues, has two genders, Akkadian has none; in Assyrian the past and present is expressed by a single change of accent, and this accent is usually expressed by doubling the following consonant (as *isakkan* for *isákan*); in Akkadian the present is expressed by

[1] The pupils of Professor Delitzsch seem to have a great admiration for Akkadian, and an equal contempt for Assyrian; they even suppose that the Babylonian scribes made mistakes in their translations, forgetting that Akkadian is known to us only through Assyrian translations; and that if the Assyrian scribes were as ignorant as they suppose them to have been, we should have to give up all hopes of ever translating Akkadian.

[2] It is only by comparison with Sanscrit, Zend, and other Aryan tongues that the learned scholar Herr F. Spiegel (*Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*) has been able to classify the forms and reconstruct the grammar and syntax of the Persian of the Achemede Inscriptions.

a longer, and the past by a shorter form of the same root (as *in-śe*, "he gave," and *in-śemu*, "he gives"), but the Akkadian makes besides a great use of affixes; and we find, for instance, *in-*, *an-*, *annan-*, *inib-*, *ananda-*, *min-*, *minib-*, *simin-*, *etc.*, prefixed (more rarely postfixed) to the verb.[1] No forms parallel to these existed in the Assyrian language, so that the same Akkadian group is translated in various ways.[2] The Akkadian seems to have a special form to express the future;[3] but in Assyrian the context alone will enable us to ascertain the time-relationship, as that language has no future proper.[4] Differences similar to those of the grammar and syntax must exist also in the use of the words, whose meaning, though corresponding in one case, may not correspond in another.

These few remarks will suffice to explain why, in my notes, I still try to throw light on the meanings of Assyrian words by comparing them with those of cognate languages.

I do not, however, underrate the danger of a promiscuous and reckless comparison of words of all Semitic tongues; and I have tried always to take into account the phonetic laws, and so much more so because the danger is greater still with Assyrian than with the other Semitic dialects. On account of its phonology, of the clearness of its vowels well expressed,

[1] These suffixes "incorporated" might be compared to the French and Italian pronouns, *Je te le dis, te lo dico, donnez-le-lui, dateglielo*, etc.

[2] M. Lenormant has failed in his attempt of classifying these suffixes; his *theories* are not supported by the texts. The different uses of prefixes are often expressed in Assyrian by a change of voice; by instance, we find: *ab-urra* = *isakak* (W.A.I., II, 14, column 1, line 18) or *isakkak* (*ibid.*, line 36), and *bab-urra* = *usakkak* (*ibid.*, column 2, line 11).

[3] The prefix *mi* is perhaps derived from *me*, "to be"; and I am inclined to see in the forms where it is prefixed a future form, as in most of the languages the future is expressed by means of shortened forms of the verb "to be" added to the verbal root; and even when a future form exists, the future might be also expressed with the verb "to be" used independently: *sono da fare* for *faro* in Italian. In English even, "I am to do," by uneducated people, is used for "I shall do." Though it implies also the auxiliary "shall," it had primitively an idea of obligation rather than futurity.

[4] The theoretical future of Professor Sayce, formed by the lengthening vowel *u* is not used in the texts; the forms as *iskanu*, when used for the third person singular, only expresses an intensified meaning.

of the absence or scarcity of the aspirates, and above all, of its strong tendency to assimilate letters, Assyrian might be termed the "Italian" of the Semitic tongues. This last peculiarity, which appears in a small degree in Hebrew, is carried in Assyrian to such an extent that the primitive radicals are in some cases difficult to detect. Assyrian no doubt owes these peculiarities to the influence of Akkadian, a language with which it eminently harmonises.

Where the text is complete, I have in all doubtful cases followed the Assyrian, because I think that the Babylonian scribes who translated the Akkadian texts, knew that ancient language much better than we can ever hope to know it.

Before concluding, I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, to whom I owe all I know of Akkadian, though at the same time I should not like to make him responsible for my theories or my mistakes.

For convenience the columns have been printed separately in the plates. The following shows their proper position on the original tablet:—

OBVERSE.		REVERSE.	
Column 1.	Column 2.	Column 4.	Column 3.

COLUMN I.

AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
1. â kus-sa	manaḥtum
2. â kus-sā-ni	manaḥta-su
3. â-kus-sā-ni ingar	manaḥta-su iskun
4. â-kus-sā-ni in-garri	manaḥta-su isakkanu
5. â-kus-sā-ni-su	ana manaḥti
6. â-kus-sā-ni-su	ana manaḥti-su
7. baran-tuldune	itelli
8. â-du	addū
9. â-du is-bar	addū isbarti
10. â-du ē-a	addū biti
11. â-du-bi	addu-su
12. â-du-bi su-bab-tema	addu-su isakki
13. â	enitum
14. â pal-pal	enitum
15. gis al	al . . . .
16. gis	al . . . .
17. gis al su-bab-tema	al ilakki
18. qi	siprum
19. qi	sipru ipsu
20. qi tilla	sipru qatu
21. qi tilla	sipru gamru
22. qi nu tilla	sipru la gamru
23. nam ⊢𒁹𒄀𒂊	. . . ullulum
24. nam ⊢𒁹𒄀𒂊	a . . . lum
25. nam ⊢𒁹𒄀𒂊 nen-sā	ikillum
26. śa	dīnu
27. śa dibba	dīnu su . . . . .
28. śa dibba	ṣimid . . . . .
29. śa tilla	dīnu gamru
30. śa nu tilla	dīnu la gamru

COLUMN I.

	AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
1.	*hand resting*	*rest (cessation of work)*
2.	*his hand resting*	*his rest (his dismissal)*
3.	*he made his hand resting*	*he made his rest (he discharged him)*
4.	*he makes his hand resting*	*he makes his rest*
5.	*for his hand resting*	*for his rest*
6.	*from his hand resting*	*from his work*
7.	*he makes him go*	*he sends away*
8.	*hand-fixing*	*beginning work (setting to work)*
9.	*hand-fixing*	*beginning work* . . . . .
10.	*hand-fixing (on) the house*	*beginning working the house*
11.	*his hand-fixing*	*his beginning work*
12.	*he takes his hand-fixing*	*he take (to) the work*
13.	. . . . .	*denial (refusal)*
14.	. . . . .	*denial*
15.	. . . . .	. . . . .
16.	. . . . .	. . . . .
17.	. . . . .	. . . . .
18.	*message (order)*	*message*
19.	*he had a message*	*he had a message*
20.	*message complete*	*complete message*
21.	*message complete*	*a complete message*
22.	*message not complete*	*an incomplete message*
23.	*production*	*production*
24.	*production*	. . . . .
25.	*the production which is made*	*the product*
26.	*judgment*	*judgment*
27.	*judgment pronounced (decision)*	*judgment* . . . . .
28.	*judgment pronounced*	*fixation (or delivery) of a judgment*
29.	*judgment completed*	*complete judgment*
30.	*judgment not completed*	*incomplete judgment*

COLUMN I.—*Continued.*

AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
31. śa-bi altil	dīn-su gamir
32. śa-bi nu al-til	dīn-su la gamir
33. śa-bi kudda	III dīnu
34. śa-bi nu kudda	IV ul dīnu
35. śa-bi ba dib	V zullul
36. luna-me egirā-ni nu un-sar	mammam arkat-su ul iprus
37. lu-sak egirā-ni nu unkud	kaptum arkat-su ul iprus
38. lu name gude(?)-āni gis nu un-dû	mamman amaśśu ul ismi
39. śa kud śa-ni nu un-kud	da'anu dīn-su ul iddin
40. zir . . . . . gu	ina asusti-su
41. ka	amat pī-su iddin
42.	ḫirram imtaḫar
43.	ḫirram immur-ma
44.	ḫirra amate-su ismema
45.	dīn-su uzakki
46.	ustesír-su
47.	Bilta-su utir-su
48.	tabbuti
49.	tabbuti amatisu
50.	illik
51. lu ka	bel amati-su
52. nam-tagga innan-ga	anna imidu
53. nam-tagga	arnu
54. nam-tagga-bi	arni-su
55. nam-tagga-bi bab-ili	arni innasi

COLUMN I.—*Continued.*

AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
31. *his judgment (he) complete*	*his judgment completing*
32. *his judgment not (he) complete*	*his judgment not completing*
33. *his judgment delivering*	*ditto 3rd time judging (to sentence)*
34. *his judgment not delivering*	*ditto 4th time not judging*
35. *his judgment he delivered*	*ditto 5th time to attach*
36. *One against him not decided*	*some one against him not decided*
37. *the chief men against him not decided*	*the chief man against him not decided*
38. *one his command not heard*	*some one his command not heard*
39. *the judge his judgment not delivered*	*the judge his judgment not gave*
40.	*in his determination*
41.	*the word of his mouth he gave*
42.	*the freeborn child he received*
43.	*the freeborn child he sees to*
44.	*the freeborn child his commands heard also*
45.	*his judgment he declares*
46.	*he makes it to be directed*
47.	*his tribute gives it*
48.	*twice (twofold)*
49.	. . . . . *of his word*
50.	*he went*
51.	*lord of his word*
52. *sin he fix it*	*sin he fix*
53. *the sin*	*the sin*
54. *his sin*	*his sin*
55. *his sin he holds*	*his sin he raises*

COLUMN II.

AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
[*About* 17 *lines missing.*]	
18. nam-dam	assutu
19. nam-dam-su	ana assutu
20. namdam-su in-dû	ana II irsu
21. nam-dam-su ban-dû	ana II irassi
22. nam-dam-su minindû	ana II irsusa
23. nam-nu-mun-zu-a-ni	. . . . .
24. minin-dû	irsusa
25. duma su ku in me a nabi da . .	. . . . .
26. nam kar kit da a ni ananani . .	. . . . .
27. nam kar kit da a ni banin dû	. . . . .
28. nam kar kit da a ni su mib-gur	ana biti-su irub
29. ē-a-nas minin-tu	. . . . .
30. . . gis sar da a ni in	. . . . .
31. sa mus śa a ni	. . . . .
32. barra-ta	. . . . .
33. ba	. . . . .
34. ēa-na	. . . . .
35. nam se	. . . . .
36. ḫu	. . . . .
37. . . . . in qat	. . . . .
38. . . . . a . . . . in dib	. . . . .
39. nig-sal-kit nam-dam-su bab-sâ	. . . . .
40. us-ba-su sa bab-da	ana . . . . .
41. ē-a-na-as min-kar	ana . . . . .
42. ē-ad-na-as min-tu	ana . . . . .
43. ka su [illegible] -rā-ni nen-gar	ri-ik . . . . .
44. nig mus-śa-a-ni in-ili	tirhas (ḫi-bi)
45. azag-dam dû	tirha (ḫi-bi)
46. azag-dam-tugā-ni banśur-ta	tirḫaśśu
47. nen-gar	passuri iskun
48. adda-na-as	ana abi-su
[illegible]. innan-tu	usaribu-su

COLUMN II.

	AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
	[*About* 17 *lines missing.*]	
18.	*matrimony*	*matrimony*
19.	*in matrimony*	*in matrimony*
20.	*in matrimony he took*	*in matrimony he took*
21.	*in matrimony he took her*	*in matrimony he took her*
22.	*in matrimony he will take*	*in matrimony he will take*
23.	*a maiden*	. . . . .
24.	*he will take*	. . . . .
25.	. . . . .	. . . . .
26.	. . . . .	. . . . .
27.	. . . . .	. . . . .
28.	. . . . .	*to his house he descended*
29.	. . . . .	. . . . .
30.	. . . . .	. . . . .
31.	. . . . .	. . . . .
32.	. . . . .	. . . . .
33.	. . . . .	. . . . .
34.	. . . . .	. . . . .
35.	. . . . .	. . . . .
36.	. . . . .	. . . . .
37.	. . . . .	. . . . .
38.	. . . . .	. . . . .
39.	*a slave in marriage he takes*	. . . . .
40.	*in*	. . . . .
41.	*in his house he will*	. . . . .
42.	*to the house of her father he will go*	. . . . .
43.	. . . . .	. . . . .
44.	*his bride he takes*	. . . . .
45.	*wedding present*	. . . . .
46.	*his wedding present as* banśur	*his wedding present*
47.	*he placed*	*of* passuru *he placed*
48.	*to her father*	*to her father*
49.	*he takes it to him*	*he sends it*

COLUMN II.—*Continued.*

AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
50. a . . . . . nen-gi	ik . . . . .
51. a nu li nen-gi	ul
52. . . . . in-sā	izirsi-ma
53.	. . . . .
54.	uzubbu-su

COLUMN III.

1. azag-tagā-ni innan-śe	uzubu-su ihit-ma
2. urra-na-nam nen-gir	ina śuni-su irkuś
3. ē-ta ibtan-ê	ina biti useṣi-su
4. u-kur-su dam śagā-ni	ana matina mutu libbi-su
5. ḥi-nib-dûdû	ihuśśi
6. enim-ma nu munsin-gāgā	ul iraggum-si
7. egibirtam nu-gig-am	arkanu gadiśtum
8. śilā-ta banḍa-ella	ina śuqim ittasi
9. śa-ki agā-ni-ta nam-nu-gig-a-ni	ina ramesu
10. innen-dûdû	gasduśśu ihuśśu
11. nu-gigga-bi duma sila-ām	gadista-su maru
12. minīn-ri	śugi iddu-su
13. ubur ga ḥu	. . . . .
14. inni	. . . . .
15. adā-ni sa amā-ni nu	. . . . .
16. sal minin-dugga	. . . . .
17. te-bi nu ub-ra-'aḥ	. . . . .
18. minin-dim	. . . . .
19. nam-dub-sarra nunib-zuzu	. . . . .
20. śa te na nen-gar	. . . . .
21. dam innin-dû	assatum usaḥis

COLUMN II.—*Continued.*

AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
50. *water*	. . . . .
51.	. . . . .
52.	. . . . .
53.	. . . . .
54.	. . . . .

COLUMN III.

1. *her dowry he gave him*	*her dowry he gave and*
2. *in his girdle he bound it*	*in his girdle he bound*
3. *from the house he send him*	*from the house he make him go*
4. *in other day the (who) his heart*	*in future the husband whose heart*
5. *might have given her*	*she possesses*
6. *renunciation shall not make to her*	*he does not renounce her*
7. *afterwards a holy (place)*	*afterwards a sanctuary*
8. *in the yard he raises*	*in the yard he raises*
9. *with his loving heart his holiness*	*in his love*
10. *he possessed*	*his innocence he possesses it*
11. *(in?) his holy place the son of the yard*	*the sanctuary the son*
12. *he shall place*	*of the yard he places him*
13. *breast milk*	. . . . .
14.	. . . . .
15. *his father and his mother not* . . .	. . . . .
16. *(if) a woman shall speak to him*	. . . . .
17. *himself to her going*	. . . . .
18. *he shall withhold himself*	. . . . .
19. *inscriptions he shall be taught*	. . . . .
20.	. . . . .
21. *wife he give him*	*wife he makes him take*

COLUMN III.—*Continued.*

AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
22. u-kur-su una mi-su	ana matima ana arkat umi
23. tukundibi duma adda-na-ra	summa maru ana abisu
24. adda-mu nu mea	ul abi atta
25. bannan-gū	iqtabi
26. dubbin minim-sā	ugallap-su
27. garra-as minin-du-śe	abbuttu isakkan-su
28. sa azagga-as minin-śe	ū kaspi inamdin-su
29. tukundibi duma ama-na-ra	summa mari ana ummi-su
30. ama-mu nu me-en bannan-gū	ul ummi atti iqtabi
31. us-a-ni dubbin sa nen-śi-es	muttaśśu u-galbu-ma
32. uru-ki-a minib-nigin-ene	alam uzaḫḫaru-su
33. sa ē-ta bara-tuldu-ne	u ina biti useṣu-su
34. tukundibi	summa
35. adda duma-na-ra	abu ana mari-su
36. duma-mu nu me-en	ul mari atta
37. bannan-gū	iqtabi
38. ē-egar-ta	ina biti u igaru
39. bara-tuldu-ne	itella
40. tukundibi	summa
41. ama duma-na-ra	ummu ana mari-su
42. duma-mu nu me-en	ul mari atta
43. bannan-gū	iqtabi
44. ē-gina-tar	ina biti u śumnāti
45. bara-tuldu-ne	itel

COLUMN III.—*Continued.*

	AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
22.	*in other day, in future day*	*in future in after day*
23.	*when a son to his father*	*if a son to his father*
24.	*" my father not thou art "*	*" not my father thou (art)"*
25.	*has said to him*	*said*
26.	*the nails he shall cut him*	*he shave him*
27.	*in servitude he shall put him*	*servitude he makes him*
28.	*and for money he shall sell him*	*and for money he gives him*
29.	*when a son to his mother*	*if a son to his mother*
30.	*" my mother not thou art " has said to her*	*" not my mother thou (art)" said*
31.	*his phallus and nails also they shall cut him*	*his virility they cut him*
32.	*in the city place they shall surround him*	*in the city they exhibit(?) him*
33.	*and from the house expel him*	*and from the house they send him away*
34.	*when*	*if*
35.	*a father to his son*	*a father to his son*
36.	*" my son not thou art "*	*" not my son thou (art)"*
37.	*has said*	*said*
38.	*from the house and building*	*from the house and dwelling*
39.	*be he expelled.*	*they expel (him)*
40.	*when*	*if*
41.	*a mother to her son*	*a mother to his* (or *her*) *son*
42.	*" my son not thou art "*	*" not my son thou (art)"*
43.	*has said*	*said*
44.	*from the house and establishment*	*from the house and settlement*
45.	*be she expelled*	*he expel (her)*

COLUMN IV.

AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
1. tukundibi	summa
2. dama-e dama-na	apatu muśśu
3. ḫul bada-gig-a-ni	izir-ma
4. dama-mu nu men	ul muti atta
5. bannan-gū	iqtabi
6. idda-su	ana naharu
7. ban-śummu	inaddu-su
8. tukundibi	summa
9. dama-e dama-na-ra	mutu ana assati-su
10. dama-mu nu men	ul assati atta
11. bannan-gū	iqtabi
12. bar mana azag-ta ni-lal-e	bar mana kaspi isakkal
13. tukundibi	summa
14. lu sakga-e	apilu
15. lu-tugga-ene	arda igur-ma
16. ba-bat ban-ḫā	imtut iḫtalik
17. ugu-bi an-dê-e	ittabata
18. mala ban-dak	ittaparka
19. sa tura bab-sa	ū imtaraṣu
20. â-bi u I (ge) kam	idi-su sa uma kal
21. bar se ta-ān	bar ta-ān seam
22. an-agga	imandad

satir-su si mala urri | sag-ba=mamitu
duppi VII. kau kikankalabisu = ana itti su
gabri mat Assur-ki kima labri-su satir-mar bare
kisitti Assurbanipal
sar kissati sar mat Assur-ki

COLUMN IV.

	AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.
1.	*when*	*if*
2.	*a wife, her husband*	*the wife her husband*
3.	*wrong to her having done*	*he has wrong (her) so that*
4.	*"my husband not thou art"*	*"not my husband thou (art)"*
5.	*has said*	*she said*
6.	*in the river*	*into the river*
7.	*they place him*	*they place him*
8.	*when*	*if*
9.	*a husband to his wife*	*a husband to his wife*
10.	*"my wife not thou art"*	*"not my wife thou (art)"*
11.	*has said*	*said*
12.	*half a maneh of silver he weighs*	*a half mana of silver he pays*
13.	*when*	*if*
14.	*a chief-man*	*a master*
15.	*workmen*	*the slave he hired (used him) so that*
16.	*he killed, he injures*	*he died, he was injured*
17.	*his flight he causes*	*he run away*
18.	. . . . .	*he was exhausted*
19.	*and sick he makes him*	*and became ill*
20.	*his hand each day*	*his hand for every day*
21.	*half corn measure*	*a half measure of corn*
22.	*he measures*	*he weighs*

. . . . . | . . . . . .

Tablet VII. In his position of high rank = in his station
Duplicate tablet of Assyria, like its old one, copied and explained
property of Assurbanipal
king of multitudes, king of Assyria

NOTES.

The tablet is, as we learn from the colophon, the seventh of the series, *kikankalabisu=ana ittisu;* the series takes its name from the first line of the first tablet: the greater part of which is in the British Museum collection, and is published in W.A.I., II, pl. 11.

The title of the series 𒅗 𒅗 𒄭𒌋𒌋 𒁹 𒅗, *ki-kankala-bi-su*,[1] has remained obscure, and the Assyriologists have either given a translation as very doubtful, or none at all. By comparing the various bilingual passages, the meaning can, however, be detected with something like certainty.

In the first tablet of the series, the Assyrian equivalent *ana ittisu* translates also 𒅗 𒅗 𒄭𒌋𒌋 𒁹 𒅗, *ki-abra-bi-su;* the first element 𒅗 is not necessarily indispensable, as we find (W.A.I., Vol. IV, pl. 29, 15) 𒅗 𒄭𒌋𒌋 𒁹 𒅗, *abra-bi-su*, translated by the same Assyrian expression *ana ittisu*. In the next line of the syllabary we have 𒅗 𒈨𒌋𒌋 𒁹 𒅗, *ki-mulu-bi-su*, and 𒌋𒌋, "ditto," in the Assyrian column. The last Akkadian expression is clear: "in his condition of man," *i.e.*, *as a man*. The group 𒅗 𒅗 𒄭𒌋𒌋 𒁹 𒅗, *ki-abra-bi-su*, is composed in the same way, *ki*, "position"; *abra*, "servitude" (found in the texts, and translated by *tugultu*, "servitude"); *bi*, "his"; and *su*, "in"; it therefore means "in his condition of servitude," and without the prefix *ki*, "in his servitude," which comes to about the same. Treating the expression in question by the same process, we have *ki*, "position," but *kankal* is obscure; in W.A.I., II, 52, it is translated by *nidutu* et *teriktu*, besides the Assyrianized word carried bodily into the Assyrian column. 𒄭-*lū*, *i.e.*, *kankallu*. It appears to me that we have here a compound from *ki* (full form, *kina*), "place," and *gal*, "great," the vowels have been harmonized, and the word treated as not compound to mean "high position"; then *ki-kankala-bi-su*, is "in his position of high rank." The meaning of "what is high" for *kankal* is proved by the fact that *nidutu* and *teriktu* translate also *kizlaḫ*, "place pure," ideographically, and the Assyrian gives also for this Akkadian word, *maskanu*,

[1] The reading of the second element 𒅗 𒄭𒌋𒌋, *kankal*, is given in W.A.I., Vol. II, pl. 52, l. 72, the *a* is added by analogy by the Assyriologists.

"abode, dwelling," a word which is generally employed in the contracts to mean the better class of house or office where the contracts are drawn. The Assyrian scribes translate the three expressions: *ki-kankala-bi-su*, "in his position of high rank"; *ki-abra-bi-su*, "in his position of servitude"; and *ki-mulu-bi-su*, "in his position of man," by the same *ana-itti-su*, because *ittu* means "station" or "condition of life"; in the texts where it was employed the specification of the Akkadian was, no doubt, needless. *Ittu* is given as translation to the Akkadian *ki*, 𒆠 (W.A.I., Vol. IV, pl. 70, l. 14), side by side with *asabu*, "seat"; *asru*, "place." (*Cf.* also W.A.I., IV, 16, 1; IV, 14, 3.)

It is quite natural that the Assyrian scribe gathering and commenting the Akkadian precepts for the conduct of man in his various occupations, should begin by the word expressing "station" or "condition."

The copy of the tablet now in the British Museum was written by the order of Assurbanipal for the Ninevite library, from a much older Babylonian copy with translation. It appears that at the time of Assurbanipal the text was already partly effaced, as in the Assyrian column the translation is sometimes left out, and the word 𒄩 𒌋 *ḫi-bi*, "wanting," inserted. The Semitic translation of the Akkadian given in the tablet was therefore made at an early period when Akkadian was not yet an antiquated tongue, and must be our safest guide.

The text has been published, first incompletely (part of the reverse only) in W.A.I., II, pl. 10, and more completely, but very incorrectly, by M. Lenormant, and again in W.A.I., V, pl. 24 and 25.

This text has been translated by most of the Assyriologists: among others by Professor Sayce ("Records of the Past," Vol. III, p. 21), M. Lenormant ("Études Accadiennes"), and Professor Oppert. This last scholar has given several translations rather different from one another: the last appeared in "Documents Juridiques," 1877.

I give the translation of the commentary for the sake of completeness, though but few of the words contained therein are not found in this tablet.

COLUMN I.

Line 1. The Akkadian word is composed of [illegible] *â*, "hand," and [illegible] *kus-sa*, "resting," *i.e.*, "cessation of work," in Assyrian *manaḥtu*, "rest." *Cf.* מְנוּחָה. In the texts it seems to mean dismissal of a workman. We have, W.A.I., II, 15, l. 32–34: *lu-gal giṣḫir-kit lu-nu-giṣḫir-ra â-kussā-ni bannan-śummu;* Assyrian, *Bel kiri ana lunugisharri manahta-su iddin*, "the lord of the plantation gives" (in Assyrian gave) "to the gardener his dismissal." Another passage says that the master paid his workman *ana manaḥti-su*, "for his dismissal."

Lines 6 and 7. "He sent him away for his dismissal," *i.e.*, he sent him away for good, discharging him.

Line 4. *Isakkanu* is not a plural: the prolongation vowel only strengthens the meaning.

Line 8. Parallel formation to *â-kussa*: [illegible] *â*, "hand," and [illegible] *du*, "fixing," *i.e.*, "setting to work"; the Assyrian word [illegible] *ad-du* may be borrowed from the Akkadian, though it may be connected to the well known root *nadu*. This word *addu*, being used as in opposition to *manaḥtu*, seems to mean "engagement," and l. 12, parallel to l. 6 and 7, gives, "he takes his setting to work," *i.e.*, he engages him, as a workman, to work."

Line 9. *Is-bar* has been borrowed bodily, *isbarti;* it proves that [illegible] is not here a determinative prefix: *is-bar* (which may be read *is-mas*) is therefore "wood" something; one of the meanings of the sign [illegible] is "to cut": the word may have then some reference to the cutting of wood previous to building the house: the primitive Akkadian houses or huts were built entirely with wood.

Lines 15–17. We have here a word with a determinative prefix [illegible], as the word appears, from what remains, to have been borrowed by the Assyrians; but in Akkadian the prefix was no doubt not pronounced, as the Assyrians rejected it.

Line 25. Here we have one of those curious Akkadian words formed with a verbal form, and being in themselves, as in Basque, a complete sentence: [illegible], "product" (the reading of which is not yet known), and [illegible],

ne-in-sa-a, "it making it," with the prefix *nam*, formative of abstracts; it is synonymous to the simple abstract , the Assyrian, which translates both, is partly lost; *ikillum* (line 23) seems to be another form of the same word, with a slight difference of meaning; we see in the Assyrian word the mimmation, and the double *l* expresses the long preceding vowel (*see* W.A.I., IV, 20, l. 21 and 22, and *cf.* יָכֹל).

Line 31. We have here an example of the so-called permansive, which is more properly a *nomen verbi.*

It is interesting to note the different vocalisations: *dinu*, "judgment"; *dā'anu*, "a judge."

Line 37. The Akkadian, literally, "man-chief," or "chief-man," is clear; but the Assyrian word, *kap-tum*, is obscure; it might be connected, perhaps, with the Hebrew root כָּבֵד (Isa. lxvi, 5).

Lines 40–44. *Asusti*, gen. of *asustu* (from the root אשׁשׁ), "abstract," "what is fixed." *See* , translated by *as-su-su*, W.A.I., IV, l. 42 and 43; also the Sumerian equivalent , translated by *a-su-us-tam.* W.A.I., IV, 10, 56 and 57.

This paragraph has been completely restored, without any doubt, by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches; and though it is still difficult to translate, the general meaning leaves but little doubt:—

Ina asusti-su, "in his determination," *i.e.*, what is settled or established by him, *amat pīsu iddin*, "he" (the father or the judge) "gave the word of his mouth," *i.e.*, "his decision" or "order."

The word beginning line 42 may be read *sar-ra-am*, and taken as the accusative of *sar-ru*, "king"; but by so doing we do not get any sense. The sign has besides the value *sar* that of *ḥir;* we would, therefore, have *ḥirram*, a word akin to the Arabic حُرّ, "to be free, freeborn," Hebrew חֹרִים or חוֹרִים, "nobles, freeborn children," Syriac ܚܪܪ, "to set free," ܚܪܐ, "free, freeborn"; it seems here to designate the freeborn child in opposition to slaves. We would therefore have here a description of the kind of

ceremony of the declaration of age of the child. "According to his resolution, the father gave his order, he receives the child which is brought to him, he sees him, *i.e.*, he acknowledges him, and consequently the child hears his word." However, a bilingual passage only could confirm or upset this reading and supposition.

The word *imtahar* is the 3rd person of the voice with inserted *t* of *maḥaru*, "to receive"; 3rd person *imḥur*, "he receives" (Smith's *imḥar*, "Sen.," p. 117). The inserted *t* generally gives to the verb a causative or reflective meaning; therefore *imtaḥur* is, "he receives for himself," or rather "he is made to receive," or "he has brought to him." A passage of a bilingual list (of the same series of tablets as that which we are now studying) leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the root *maharu* (W.A.I., II, pl. 12, l. 23–37), where it translates the same Akkadian words as the root *lūku*, to take"; the Akkadian [illegible] or [illegible] meant "receive" or "take," [illegible] is translated by both [illegible] *ilteki*, "he takes for himself," and [illegible] *imtaḥur*, "he receives for himself."

Immur-ma; immur is the 3rd person of *amaru*, "to see"; *ma*, as will be seen further on (page 268), has often the meaning of *so that*.

If we consider *amate-su* as the genitive singular governed by *sarra*, or the plural governed by the verb, it does not affect the meaning. In the first case it would be, "the child of his command," and in the second, "the child hears his commands"; this last is perhaps preferable.

It must be noticed that if we read [illegible] *imḥur* instead of *immur*, it does not alter the general meaning; with the first of these two readings it would be, "according to his resolution the father gave his order, he had the child brought to him, he receives the child, and consequently," etc.

Line 45. *Uzakki*, "he declared" (as pure), "he delivered (judgment)." In a gift tablet (K. 6) in the British Museum the same word is used in the sense of "given up" or "delivered" to a god, *i.e.*, "consecrated" ("Records of the Past." Vol. XI, p. 92). *See* also Pinches' "Babylonian Texts," pl. 4.

Line 48. *Tapputi* seems to be a borrowed word from Akkadian; in this tongue 𒁹 *tab* (the Akkadian *b* become *p* in Assyrian) means "double"; here *tapputi* being placed after the verb, may be used as an adverb; in spite of this incertitute the general sense is clear.[1]

Line 49. Here the sense escapes me: it may be that the child being declared free of his actions, is consequently freed of his father's authority, and *tapputi* would then express that he assumes "doubly" the responsibility of his words.

Lines 52–55. The Akkadian 𒀭𒈨𒋗𒄀𒂍𒋗 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁺 *nam-tag-ga*, "sin," is as usual translated by *an-na;* the older form without the assimilation appears l. 53 and 54, *ar-nu.* The assimilation of the *r* before *n* was usual in Assyrian: we have *an-na-bu*, "hare," in Hebrew אַרְנֶבֶת, Arabic أَرْنَب. The form *arnu* is very likely antiquated and more poetical.

In this paragraph, 6, we have a very poetical emphatic formula, "he holds" (as responsible) "his sin, the sin which is his sin"; the verb is partly lost in Assyrian, but, the meaning of the Akkadian 𒁹𒁹𒁺 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *il* or *ili* being certain (W.A.I., II, 26, 43, IV, 26, 12), it may be restored with confidence.

Column II.

The Assyrian is mostly lost, and has in some places never been written, being already effaced when the text was copied by the Ninevite scribes.

Lines 18–22. We have here evidently a gradation expressed by the prefixes to the root *dû* 𒁺: *in-dû*, "he takes," *ban-dû* and *minin-dû.*

Line 23. A word in Akkadian often contains a small sentence: here 𒀭𒈨𒋗𒄀𒂍𒋗 𒀀𒁉 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 is literally, "the state of one who has not known any one," and with the possessive pronoun 𒁹 𒁹𒁹 *a-ni*="her maidenhood"; it is, therefore, he will take in marriage "one who possesses her maidenhood," "a maiden."

Line 48. The Akkadian leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the Assyrian word *tirḫasśu*, "his wedding present" or

[1] *Tapputi* (W.A.I., II, 14, 40, 42) translates the Akkadian *nam-tabba*, "double-ness" or "twofoldness."

"gift," given by the bridegroom to the bride's father. The Akkadian is a compound of 𒀭𒊩 *azag*, "money," 𒁺𒁀 *dam*, "wife" or "husband," and 𒁹 *tug*, "gift"; we have in this word a remnant of the time when all kinds of wives were bought from the fathers. It must be remembered that the reading of the group 𒀭𒊩 𒁺𒁀 𒁹 *azag-dam-tug*, though likely, is not certain, as we have no gloss proving it, and it may be that the Akkadians proposed another reading for the word for "wedding-present," expressed by the three ideograms "money, wife or husband, gift."

Line 49. *Passaru* is a word borrowed from the Akkadian *bassur*, a kind of vessel or cup; it appears in the texts as a vessel for food (W.A.I., IV, 57). A bilingual list of words (W.A.I., II, 46, l. 40 *et seq.*) gives us several kinds of *passaru*, and show that this object, primitively in wood, was first used as a drinking vessel, and especially a wine drinking vessel; this list speaks of "*passaru* of the god," "*passaru* of the king," etc.: it was therefore a libation cup, and from the description given by this list it seems to be the cup which often the Assyrian kings represented on the bas-reliefs are holding in their hand.

For the sign for "silver," 𒀭𒊩, I follow the reading *azag* generally accepted. However, this sign, with this reading, means "bright, shining, pure," and is in this sense translated by *ellu*, and is much used as an adjective; the reading is given in the syllabaries (W.A.I., II, 1, 111), and is confirmed by the texts, where the sign appears with the lengthening vowel 𒀭𒊩 𒁉𒀀𒄠 *azag-ga*. The next line of the same syllabary gives the reading *ku*, which was probably the primitive name for the metal. Silver is always placed first in the Akkadian texts, and has been for this naturally supposed to be the first precious metal known. When gold came into use, the silver metal was determined by an adjective forming the group 𒀭𒊩 𒆠, read *ku lah*, "metal pure" (𒆠 = *lah*, W.A.I., II, 34, 13); *ku azag*, "metal shining," or "pure," in the sense of "clear," as water, *i.e.*, "colourless" (W.A.I., II, 1, 112); and *ku babbar*, "metal shining," as the second expression seems to have alone prevailed, "metal" being even omitted; *azag* came to

mean "silver," and was borrowed by the Assyrians under the form of *asaku* (unpublished fragment communicated to me by Mr. Pinches), which was no doubt a poetical word, as the Hebrew כֶּתֶם, "gold," from the Egyptian *ketem* (*see* Pierret's "Dict.," p. 635), a qualification used to designate "gold."

As said above, "gold" was in Akkadian written , read *gu-usqin* (W.A.I., II, 1, 113): supposed, with great probability, by M. Lenormant ("Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. VI, p. 365), to be weakened from *ku-usqin;* the first part of the word being "metal," and the second is considered by the same scholar as meaning "true": arriving at this conclusion through the meaning of the ideogram *gi.* If in the group the second part of it was *gi,* a shortened form for *gina,* "to establish," as he supposed, the reading would not be *gusqin;* it is preferable to consider the second character as an ideogram; it has as such generally the meaning of "reed"; I would therefore be inclined to take it as an adjective (by analogy to the formation of the word for "silver"), "reed-like," *i.e.,* "reed colour," or "yellow," as we say "straw," for "straw colour," or "yellow."

It is important to notice that the Assyrian gives the first place to "gold," *ḥaraṣu,* even in bilingual texts where the Akkadian gives the first place to "silver." The Semites seem to have followed in that the notion of the Egyptians, who seem to have primitively given the first place to "gold," if we consider the words *nub,* "gold," from the idea of brightness of flame, and *nub het,* literally, "gold white," *i.e.,* "silver."

The Assyrian expresses by the genitive the Akkadian postposition *-ta;* the genitive is therefore not possessive, but indicates that the term of *passuru* came to mean the special present of the bridegroom: "he places the present *as* wedding gift."

Line 50. *Abi-su,* for *abi-sa;* as we shall see, the masculine possessive pronoun *su* is often used for the feminine (page 268).

COLUMN III.

Line 1. As here the Akkadian *azaga-dam-taga* is not followed by *banśur*, it is translated by *uzubu*, "dowry," given by the bride's father.

Line 2. *Śuni-su*, "his girdle"; *śunu* meant primitively the lower part of the body, but in time came to mean the garment covering it, and by extension a girdle tied round the loins. In the East it was customary to put one's money or purse in one's belt.

Line 2. 𒀭𒊩𒌆 *nam*, used as a postposition is rare, but occurs sometimes; here the Assyrian leaves no doubt as to its meaning.

Line 5. The precative prefix 𒄭 *ḫi-* could be placed before any verbal form, and in this case seems to form a potential; the mood could not be expressed in Assyrian, that is why the Semitic scribe took any turn. The Akkadian means that the young man has his choice before he is married, and may give his heart to any one, but cannot repudiate the one he has finally chosen.

Line 7. *Gadiśtum* cannot be of the same root as *gasduśśu*, for *gasdut-su*, unless we suppose a transposition of *ds* into *sd*; both, however, translate Akkadian words from the same root: *nu gig*, literally, "what is not evil," is well known to mean *gadiśtum*, "sanctuary," from the root קָדַשׁ, קֹדֶשׁ, קָדֶשׁ, etc.); the weakened form in Hebrew, גָּדִישׁ, came to mean "a heap," from the idea of "high place." The Akkadian *nam-nu-gig* is "the state of being not evil," that is, "innocence"; the word *gasdutu* might be compared with קִשְׁט, Ps. lx, 6, and קִשְׁטְ, Prov. xxii, 21, translated by "truth" in the authorised version.

Line 8. 𒄷 *silā* has been explained by the crossing of two roads, hence "place," and is often translated by the Assyrian *śugū* (W.A.I., III, 70, 119; 4, 2, 16 and 23, etc.), "market" or "place"; as it cannot be supposed that every one had his sanctuary built in the public place, it must mean here the private yard.

Line 10. *Gasduśśu*. *See* above.

Lines 11 and 12. This paragraph is still very doubtful; as *maru*, "son," is in the nominative, the preposition must be

supplied. It may mean that *maru* is the subject of the verb, and *gadista-su*, "his sanctuary," the regimen.

Line 13. The only Akkadian words remaining are *ubur*, "breast," and *ga*, "milk."

Line 17. 𒀀𒁹𒌋𒌋𒌋 means "to go"; the postposition incorporated *ra* gives to the word an idea of direction. (*Cf.* *bara-tuldune* note on l. 45.)

Line 19. *Nam-dub-sarra*, literally, "that which is the written tablet."

Line 20. This line is too obscure for my venturing a translation.

Line 32. The Assyrian word *uzaḫḫaru-su* means "they shut or enclose him," but with *alam*, "town," in the accusative, it gives no satisfactory sense. In Akkadian we have the verb *nigin*, "to enclose, surround"; the primitive meaning of the ideogram was "an enclosure," which the primitive form represented. The sign of "town," 𒀭𒌋𒌋𒌋, is followed by *ki*, 𒆠, "place," with the postposition *a*, "in"; we have therefore, "they surround him in the town place." The Assyrian *alam* on the other side may be considered as an accusative taken as an adverb. We may therefore suppose that the bad son was exhibited in the middle of the town as in "the pillory"; if the prison was meant, we should expect another word in Akkadian as well as in Assyrian.

Line 33. See further on, note on line 45.

Line 39. *Itella*, may be a dual.

Line 41. The possessive suffix *su* expresses the masculine *mari-su*, "his son," that is, the son of her husband, and it might be his son by another wife. However, we must remember that the suffix *su* was often used for the feminine, and it might be also "her son." (*See* next page, note on line 2.)

Line 44. In Akkadian we have "the fixed house"; the Assyrian word is obscure. The Assyrian if read *śummati* may be compared to the root סמן, and means "what has been settled," the estate settled on the wife by the husband by the marriage contract.

Line 45. The Akkadian *bara-tuldune* is here translated by a singular; it may be that the Assyrian scribe implied that it was alone the husband of the bad mother who drove her

away. *Bara-tuldune* may be one of those words having no special form for the plural; but it does sometimes express the plural, as in one passage (W.A.I., IV, 2, 7, 16), where it is translated by *usellū*, and where the sense besides leaves no doubt as to the number intended.

It is to be noticed that the verbal forms with incorporated *ra* often imply an idea of direction or of futurity, and for this reason are sometimes translated in the Assyrian by a precative or an imperative; it is a kind of imperative or injunction; so *bara-tuldune* might be translated by, "he is to be expelled," *nu ubra-aḳ* (line 17), "he is not to go," or "he must not go."

COLUMN IV.

Line 2. *Muśśu*, from *mutu*, with the possessive suffix *-su*, it ought to be regularly *mut-sa*, "her husband"; but it may be that this expression was considered as forming one word after the assimilation of the *t*, and took the case ending of the nominative *u*. Besides, the masculine possessive suffix *-su* is often used for the feminine; among many examples we may mention the marriage contract tablet, where the suffix *su* is exclusively used for both genders.

Line 3. The postfixed copula *ma* is often used with the meaning of "so that," carrying a consequence, as is also used the copula "and" in English: "I went and saw him."

Line 7. The verb here does not express any violent action; *inaddu* is "they place," so that it seems to support the suggestion of Mr. Rylands.

Line 15. The Akkadian plural is translated by a singular in Assyrian.

Ma seems there also to imply a consequence, "if a master hired" (*i.e.*, employed) "a slave *in such way that*," etc.

It may be noticed that in this last paragraph all the verbs have in the Akkadian the same subject, *sakgal*, "master," and that in Assyrian, after the conjunction *ma*, the subject changes, and though not expressed, the word servant is understood; this fact explains why all the verbs used there (lines 16 to 19) are in the form with inserted *t*.

The first two paragraphs are very difficult, on account

of the genders not being expressed in Akkadian, so that if we had not the Assyrian, we should not know who was meant, the husband or the wife. In the second of these paragraphs we have, "thou" (masc.) "art not my wife," which would imply that the scribe confused the genders; one explanation would, however, be that this law was reciprocal, and was meant against both a bad husband or a bad wife; but it is a mere supposition.

Line 2. In Akkadian, when the possessive suffix *-ni* is placed after a small incidental sentence, forming so a long word, it seems to express what is called in Latin Grammar an ablative absolute, or what is expressed in English by a participle present.

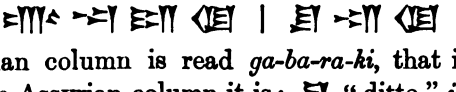
Colophon.

Line 1. The transcription of [illegible] is doubtful. *Satir* means "order," *mala urri*, "every day"; the general meaning may be that these precepts are instructions for every day. *Mamitu* is generally translated by "incantation," but it really means "saying," and may be translated by "precept."

Addenda.

Page 232. My remarks about the carelessness of Assyriologists is well illustrated by the oversight of Professor Delitzsch in an article lately published in the *Athenæum*. He there states that he has discovered the Assyrian form of the Hebrew word שְׁאוֹל, *še'ôl*, which he gives as *sualu*, but without any reference. This word does not exist in Assyrian, but I have been able to find how the error has arisen.

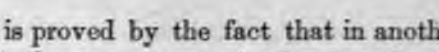
A syllabary (unpublished fragment) gives a list of words having KBR as their radicals, and the last line but one is:—



The Akkadian column is read *ga-ba-ra-ki*, that is, Gabara-town; in the Assyrian column it is: [illegible], "ditto," *i.e.*, *Gabara*, [illegible], *alu*, "city," and [illegible] determinative suffix. The mistake has arisen from the use of [illegible] as a pointer [illegible] in this case having been ignored. That in this case [illegible] is not to be read

phonetically is proved by the fact that in another syllabary (unpublished) the same expression is given in the Assyrian column opposite another Akkadian group thus:—

The Akkadian is to be read, as indicated by the gloss, *Es-ki*, that is, Es-town, and the Assyrian is to be analysed as given in the previous quotation. Another instance of the same use of this group may be quoted from an unpublished syllabary in the British Museum, which puts my explanation beyond all doubt. It runs:—



I may add that the sign is very seldom used as a phonetic element.

Page 236. Mr. Theo. G. Pinches has called my attention to an unpublished list of the names of cups, among which is that of the *Banśur*, the Assyrian *passaru*. The ideograph used suggests the idea that some of these vessels had a double lip; we have in this, therefore, a libation cup similar to that discovered by Dr. Schliemann, and explained by him as being the Greek vessel *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* mentioned by Homer.

Page 250. A small piece of the tablet has been added by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, but the few characters readable are too unconnected to be worth transcribing. A few Akkadian signs are legible, and these, so far as they can be made out, show that this portion of the tablet treated of the time at which women reached the marriageable age. It shows, however, that only 15 lines were missing, so that my line No. 18 of Col. II corresponds to line 16 of the plate, 19 to 21, &c.

Page 261. A bilingual fragment lately arrived at the British Museum seems to confirm my translation. The well-known Akkadian ideogram , *dumu*, "child," is translated by , the group given in our tablet, and which I have read *ḥirru*, "freeborn child."

BABYLONIAN LEGAL DOCUMENTS REFERRING TO HOUSE PROPERTY, AND THE LAW OF INHERITANCE.

By Theo. G. Pinches.

Read 6th February, 1883.

Among the many documents known as the Êgibi-tablets, which, as a rule, are nothing else than records of sales of property, slaves, live-stock, produce, and even ships, are some, of a most interesting and instructive nature, containing judicial decisions. Couched, as they often are, in difficult style of language, they nevertheless give most interesting statements as to the laws of the land, and their manner of administration at that remote period.

The series to which I wish to call attention contains four documents, each of which, though found at Borsippa, the site of the Birs-Nimroud, yet came to the British Museum at various times and through different channels. The first in chronological order, which is dated in the second year of Nabonidus, is a tablet of a rather uncommon shape, but in a most excellent state of preservation. It has on the edge impressions of the cylinder-seals of two scribes, who are evidently the same as had drawn up the document. The tablet refers to the buying of a house and land by a man, evidently a Syrian, named Bin-Addu-natānu, and his wife Bunanitu, a Babylonian lady, by the hands of another person, named Ibâ. The text of the transaction is as follows:—

"7 canes, 5 cubits, 8 fingers, a house, with territory, a plantation which is within Borsippa, which Dân-šum-iddina, son of Ziria, son of Banâa, for 11½ mana of silver, for the

price complete, has delivered into the hands of Ibâ, son of Ṣilla, son of the *nagar*, by the authority of Bin-Addu-natānu, son of Addîa, and Bunanitu his wife, daughter of Ḫariza. He has taken possession of that house, and has paid the money of Bin-Addu-natānu and Bunanitu as the price of the house. The contract of Dân-šum-iddina for the house and money is made; Dân-šum-iddini has sealed the tablet with his name. He has given it to Bin-Addu-natānu and Bunanitu. To-day the copy of the seal tablet of the receiver (whether there be any contract for that house in the house of Dânu-šum-iddin or in any other place), has been examined; of Bin-Addu-natānu and Bunanitu it is.

"Witnesses:—

"Iddina-Marduk, son of Bašâ, son of Nûr-Sin.
"Munaḫḫiš-Marduk, son of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, son of Nabannâa.
"Nabû-nadin-aḫî, son of Bêl-iddina, son of Basîa.
"Igidu-zir'-iddina, son of Esirâa.
"Kaptu-ilāni-Marduk, the scribe son of Suḫâa.
"Nabû-zir-êšir, the scribe son of Nabunnâa.

"Babylon, Sebat 24th, second year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon."

Here follow, bending also over the edge, the seals of the scribes, Nabû-zir-êšir and Kaptu-ilāni-Marduk.

The transaction, as above given, is quite clear. Bin-Addu-natānu and his wife Bunanitu have been carrying on negociations with a certain Dânu-šum-iddin about a house and field in Borsippa, and they give Ibâ, son of Ṣilla, authority to buy the property for them. This he does, paying 11½ mana of silver, and the house and field is declared to be the property of Bin-Addu-natānu and Bunanitu, whatever may have been agreed before, "whether in the house of Dânu-šum-iddin or elsewhere." The scribe has also been careful to state that Ibâ contracted for the property "by the authority of Bin-Addu-natānu and Bunanitu his wife." The reason for this was, that if he could not have shown that he had received such authority from his employer, and the latter had afterwards refused to have the property, he would have

TABLET WRITTEN IN THE BABYLONIAN CHARACTER,
REFERRING TO THE BUYING OF SOME PROPERTY IN BORSIPPA.
DATED IN THE SECOND YEAR OF NABONIDUS.

77—10—2, 2. OBVERSE.

A COMPOSITE FIGURE,
the upper part as a man,
with the hind legs and
tail of a bull.

A BEARDED FIGURE,
the right hand raised.

A BEARDED FIGURE,
the right hand raised.

13.

14.

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

20.

been obliged to keep and pay for it himself, in accordance with the Babylonian law:—

"If a man has contracted for a field and house in the name of another, but has not received a letter of authority concerning it, and has not taken a duplicate of the tablet (to the man from whom he received the authority); the man who wrote the tablet and contract in his name shall take that house and field."

This law, though certainly not very exactly worded, is nevertheless clear enough, explained, as it is, by the contract of which the text is above given. Its inexactness is probably caused by the fact that the text of which it forms part is rather a list of precedents than a code of laws, as the paragraph is really given in a narrative form.[1]

The next document in chronological order is dated in the fifth year of Nabonidus. It is an ordinary loan-tablet, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{3}$ inches broad. The inscription records

---

[1]

Amēlu ša kaniku ša êḳli
A man who a contract of a field

u bîti a-na šu-me ša-man-ma
and house to the name of somebody

ik-nu-ku-ma ri-ik-su
sealed, and a contract

ša na-aš-pir-tum a-na êli
of authority concerning (it)

lâ ir-ku-su
did not draw up,

u gab-ri kaniki
and a copy of the tablet

lâ il-ḳu-u,
did not take;

amēlu ša kaniki u D.P. an-tim
the man who the tablet and agree-
[ment

a-na šu-me-šu šaṭ-ru
to his name has written

êḳlu lû bîtu šu-a-ti
that field and house

i-lik-ki
takes.

that Iddina-Marduk, who appeared as a witness to the former transaction, lends a sum of money to Bin-Addu-natānu and Bunanitu. The text, the end of which is rather mutilated, is as follows:—

"1½ mana 8½ shekels of silver from Iddina-Marduk, son of Bašâ, son of Nûr-Sin, to Bin-Addu-natānu, son of Addia, and Bunanitu his wife. For the month they pay interest at the rate of 1 (weak) mana 1 shekel of silver (lit. "at the rate of 1m. 1s. it increases unto them"). From the 1st of Sivan of the 5th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, they pay the interest."

Three mutilated lines follow this, and then come the names of three witnesses, the last-named being the scribe who wrote the tablet. The date is:—

"Borsippa, Iyyar 3rd, 5th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon."

The bulk of the Êgibi-tablets consists of transactions of this class. They are neither bankers' drafts nor judicial decisions, but money-lenders' agreements.

The third tablet, of which there are two copies, neither being the original, is dated in the ninth year of Nabonidus. In this document, the woman Bunanitu, whose husband is now dead, makes a declaration before the judges, claiming the property which belonged to her late husband, to which she considered that she had some right, as she had been, to a great extent, instrumental in getting it, and had taken part in all the transactions relating thereto. The text of this document, which is much longer than the two already given, is as follows:—

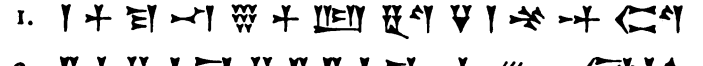
"Bunanitu, daughter of Ḫarizâ, said thus to the judges of Nabonidus, king of Babylon: 'Bin-Addu-natān, son of Nikbata',[1] had me to wife, taking 3 mana of silver as dowry, and I bore to him one daughter. I and Bin-Addu-natān, my husband, traded with the money of my dowry, and we bought for 9⅓ mana of silver, with 2½ mana of silver which (was borrowed) from Iddin-Marduk, son of Bâša, son of Nûr-Sin, (and which) we added to the former sum, 8 canes of land,

[1] Variant, Nikmadu'.

LOAN-TABLET DATED IN THE 5TH YEAR OF NABONIDUS.

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

No. S. + 233.

1. 
2.
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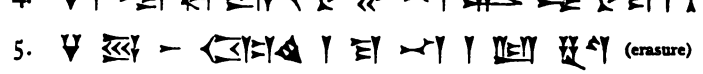
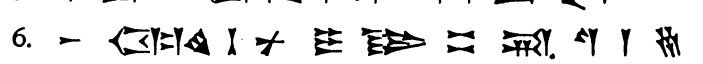
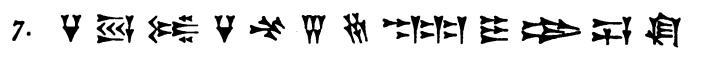
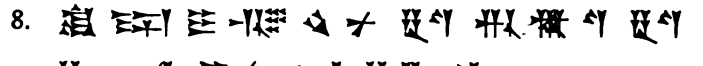
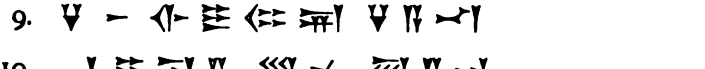
4. 
5.  (erasure)
6. 
7. 
8. 
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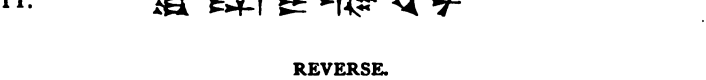
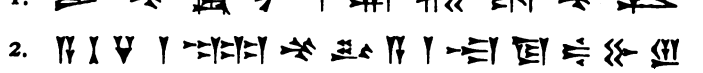
10. 
11.

REVERSE.

1. 
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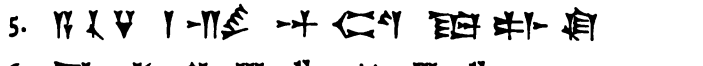
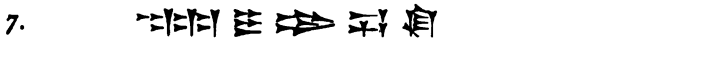
4. 
5.
6. 
7.

and a ruined house, the territory of a large property, which is within Borsippa. Together we made this transaction in the fourth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

"'Now my dowry (was) with Bin-Addu-natān, my husband. I asked (for it), and Bin-Addu-natān, in the kindness of his heart, sealed, and entrusted it to me for future days, the 8 canes of land, and that house, which is within Borsippa, and made it known on my tablet as follows: '2½ mana of silver, which Bin-Addu-natān and Bunanit have taken from Iddin-Marduk, and have given as the price of that house. Together they have made the agreement.' He sealed this tablet, and wrote upon it the curse of the great gods.

"'In the fifth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, I and Bin-Addu-natān, my husband, took Bin-Addu-amara to sonship, and wrote a tablet of his sonship, and made known that the dowry of my daughter Nubtā was 2 mana 10 shekels of silver and the furniture of a house. Fate took my husband, and on account of this, Aḳabi-ilu, son of my father-in-law, laid claim upon the house and everything which he had sealed and entrusted to me, and upon Nabû-nûr-ilu, whom we had bought, by the hands of Nabû-aḫî-iddin, for money. I have brought it before you. Make a decision.'

"The Judges heard their words, they discussed the tablets and documents which Bunanitu had brought before them, and they did not make Aḳabi-ilu to have power over the house of Borsippa, which had been entrusted to Bunanitu instead of her dowry, over Nabû-nûr-ili, whom she and her husband had bought for silver, nor over anything of Bin-Addu-natān. Bunanitu and Bin-Addu-amara, by their tablets, possess (them). Iddin-Marduk takes the 2½ mana of silver which had been given as the price of that house, and settles (the affair). Afterwards Bunanitu settles the 3½ mana, her dowry, and besides her property she settles Nabû-nur-ili (upon) Nubtā, according to the agreement of her father.

"By the decision of this judgment."

Here follow the names of six judges and two scribes, and then the date:—

"Babylon, 26th Elul, ninth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon."

It will easily be seen that the above document is an action brought by the woman Bunanitu to recover the property which she and her husband had acquired, but to which Aḳabi-ilu, her husband's brother, laid claim. Bin-Addu-natān, however, seems to have taken great care that his wife's name should be associated with every transaction, wishing that the property might go to her, in case of his dying, as he actually did, before her. The association of her name with his, however, in all the transactions into which they entered, would probably not have availed in any way, but for the fact that part of the money with which they traded was her own; for it was enacted, according to Babylonian law, that on the death of the husband, the dowry of the wife returned to her, and to her children; and in the case where both husband and wife died without any issue, the dowry returned to the parents of the wife, from whom, in fact, it originally came. On this point the law was clear, and Aḳabi-ilu seems to have been nonsuited. At the time when this question was decided before the judges, Iddin-Marduk, the lender of the money which made up the price of the house at Borsippa, was repaid, seemingly by order of the judges, and provision was made for the dowry of Nubtā, the daughter of Bunanitu, who was to marry the man Bin-Addu-amara, who had been "taken to sonship."

The tablet of legal precedents gives the following rules for the inheritance of the dowry of a married woman:—

"If a man give a dowry to his daughter, and she has no son or daughter, her dowry returns to the house of her father."

A marriage contract, partly performed, could not be annulled:—

"If a man promise a dowry to his daughter, and then write a tablet for her, and afterwards hand over to her a third part, as he gives his property, which was a part of her dowry, to his daughter, the father-in-law and son-in-law cannot deny each other."

According to the tablet S+ 966, which is a marriage settlement, the bridegroom might ask that a part of the promised dowry be changed for something else of value.

In this case, Iddina-Marduk asks that instead of the sum of seven *mana* of silver, part of dowry which Zirîa had promised with Ina-Ê-sagili-râmat, his daughter, there might be given the slave Urbartu and her three children, Nanā-kiširat and her two children, and all the property of Zirîa both in town and country. The proposition seems to have been accepted by the father of Ina-Ê-sagili-râmat.

From another clause of the tablet of precedents, which is, unfortunately, rather mutilated, it seems that if a marriage contract be concluded, and the dowry of the wife and the property of the husband, given by his father, be to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, the children take, on the death of their parents, a third of the property. What becomes of the rest, however, does not appear.

Another clause, also very mutilated, directs that, if a woman, on the death of her husband, "set her face to go down to another house," that is, if she marry again, she may take with her her dowry and all her property which her first husband had left her. All that was left of her dowry after her death, was to be divided (so it seems) between the children of both marriages. What was to become of the rest does not appear, as the tablet is broken; but it is not unlikely that this property given by the first husband was to go to his children only.

It will easily be seen from the above how very clear and full of common sense the laws of the ancient Babylonians were. In everything they show themselves to have been an eminently practical people; lovers of peace, and ardent traders. Whence they could have got these laws is difficult to say. It is not unlikely, however, that they are built upon some ancient Akkadian precepts, the originals of which no longer exist. The Akkadian laws treating of the duties of the members of a family towards each other have already been ably discussed by Mr. G. Bertin, and it is not by any means impossible that the tablet, of which I have above given extracts, is a translation of a continuation of the series. These ancient tablets, which were of the series beginning, in Akkadian, *ki-kankalābi-šu*, were probably, at first, very numerous, but only a few of the tablets have come down to

us. They were used as text-books by the students of Babylon, even to the latest times, and the phrases which they contain, used as models by the scribes, are to be found reproduced in many different ways, in the texts of the so-called Êgibi-tablets. It is therefore clear that the scribes, after going through, and learning both the Babylonian phrases, and their Akkadian equivalents, went also through the code of laws by which these pattern-phrases were followed. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam has obtained from the Babylonian excavations many fragments of tablets containing extracts from these texts of law-phrases, each section having been written out clearly and well by the student three times, in order, evidently, to impress these things the more clearly upon his memory. Judging from what we have already, the complete code of these laws must have been extremely interesting, and embraced a wide range.

We have heard much about the will of Sennacherib, but this is only, at the most, a deed of gift, or a letter stating that the king had given his son, whose name he changes at the same time, certain articles of value, but the so-called Êgibi-tablets give us the form of a real will, fully and clearly written, in which a man named Tabnêa gives certain property to his wife, to be held in trust for her by his three children, to whom, after her death, the property was to go. This is a real model of a will, for all the clauses are so clearly expressed, without any repetitions, that, notwithstanding our imperfect knowledge of Assyrian, every phrase can be clearly made out.

It is a great pity that Assyriologists have been, especially in England, so careless as to their translations. The chances are, that if a phrase requires a great deal of twisting to get it to make sense, the translation is wrong. Guessing, also, is a most dangerous thing, especially when unscientifically done. A most interesting tablet of the class we have been treating of is one called, in consequence of one of Mr. Smith's ingenious guesses, "The dispute between the two brothers." The text, however, is nothing of the kind. It is a deed of partnership, or, rather, brotherhood, entered into by two men, named Ṣiui-Nanā and Iribam-Sin. The declaration of

TABLET WRITTEN IN THE BABYLONIAN CHARACTER,

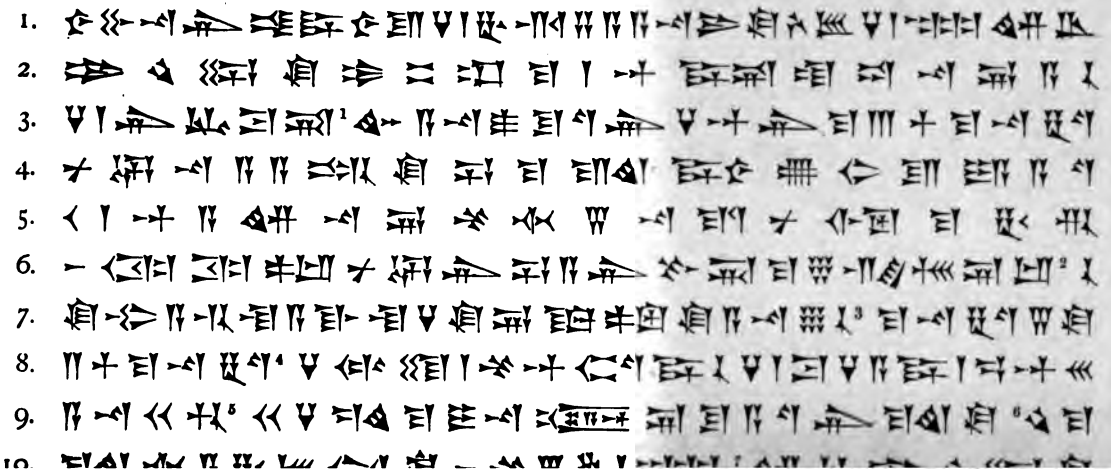
CONTAINING A

DECLARATION OF A BABYLONIAN WOMAN WITH REGARD TO HER PROPERTY.

DATED IN THE NINTH YEAR OF NABONIDUS.

TABLET Sp. 41, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

OBVERSE.



[1] Variants. [2] . [3] . [4] . [5] . [6] Thus in both copies. [7] .

TABLET WRITTEN IN THE BABYLONIAN CHARACTER,

CONTAINING A

DECLARATION OF A BABYLONIAN WOMAN WITH REGARD TO HER PROPERTY,

DATED IN THE NINTH YEAR OF NABONIDUS.

TABLET Sp. 41, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

REVERSE.

[1] Variant. 𒁹.

partnership was made before a judge, who took them afterwards to the temple of the Sun-god at Tel-sifr, where they made gifts or sacrifices to the Sun-god and the Moon-god, and afterwards the judge gave them some friendly and wholesome advice as to their duties towards each other. This document is dated in the reign of Ḫammurabi, about 2.100 B.C.

THE FIRST DOCUMENT. 77—10—2, 2.

OBVERSE.

1. Sibit ḳanê, ḫaššu âmmāti, XVIII ûbanāti, bîtu e-ib-šu
Seven canes, five cubits, 18 *fingers, a ruined house,*
êrṣi-tim kirêti
(and) the land of plantations

2. ša ki-ir-ba Bar-sip-ki, ša ▼ ►✕ Daan-šum-iddi-na,
which (are) within Borsippa, which Daan-šum-iddina,
mâri-šu ša ▼ Zirîa,
son of Zirîa,

3. mâr ▼ Na-ba-a-a, a-na êštin êšrit māšu ma-na kaspi, a-na
son of Nabâa, for eleven and a-half mana of silver, for
kaspi ga-mir-ti,
the complete money,

4. i-na ḳatâ ▼ I-ba-a, mâri-šu ša ▼ Ṣil-la-a, mâr
(which) by the hands of Ibâ, son of Ṣillâ, son of
(amēli) nagari im-ḫu-ru
the nagar, he has received

5. i-na na-aš-pir-ti sa ▼ ►✕ Bin-Addu-na-ta-nu, mâri-šu ša
by the authority of Ben-Hadad-natān, son of
▼ Ad-di-ia
Addîa

6. u ⊕ Bu-na-ni-ti aš-ša-ti-šu, mârat-su ša ▼ Ḫa-ri-za-a-a
and Bunanitu, his wife, daughter of Ḫarizâa

7. bîtu šu-a-tim im-ta-ḫar, kaspa ša ▼ ►✕ Bin-Ad-du-
that house he has received, the money of Ben-Hadad-
na-ta-nu
natān

8. u 𒀭 Bu-na-ni-ti a-na ši-i-mi bîti na-din zi-it-ti
and Bunanitu as the price of the house he has given; (the property

9. ša 𒁹 𒀀𒀀𒁍 Daan-šum-iddi-na i-na bîti û kaspi ya-a-nu
of Daan-šum-iddina in the house, and money there is not).

10. Kaniku ša 𒁹 𒀀𒀀𒁍 Daan-šum-iddi-na a-na šu-mi-šu ik-nu-ku
The tablet which Daan-šum-iddina with his name has sealed

11. a-na 𒁹 𒀀𒀀𒁍 Bin-Ad-du-na-ta-nu u 𒀭 Bu-na-ni-ti id-din
to Ben-Hadad-natān and Bunanitu he has given.

REVERSE.

1. Û-mu gab-ri ku-nu-uk ma-ḫi-ri lu-u
To-day the copy of the seal of the receiver (whether there be
mimma ri-ik-su ša bîti šu-a-tim
any contract for that house

2. ina bîti 𒁹 𒀀𒀀𒁍 Daan-šum-iddina lu-u ina a-šar
in the house of Daan-šum-iddina or in any other
ša-nam-ma it-tan-ma-ru, ša 𒁹 𒀀𒀀𒁍 Bin-Ad-du-
place) has been examined, of Ben-Hadad-
na-tan-nu u 𒀭 Bu-na-ni-tum šu-u
natān and Bunanitu it is.

---

3. (Amēlu) Mu-kin-nu 𒁹 Iddi-na- 𒀀𒀀𒁍 Marduk mâri-šu ša
Witnesses: Iddina-Marduk, son of
𒁹 Ba-ša-a mâr 𒁹 Nu-ur- 𒀀𒀀𒁍 Sin
Bašâ, son of Nûr-Sin;

4. 𒁹 Mu-na-aḫ-ḫi-iš- 𒀀𒀀𒁍 Marduk mâri-šu ša 𒁹 Itti-
Munaḫḫiš-Marduk, son of Itti-
𒀀𒀀𒁍 Marduk-balaṭu mâr 𒁹 Na-bu-un-na-a-a
Marduk-balaṭu, son of Nabunnâa

5. 𒁹 Nabû-na-din-âḫî, mâri-šu ša 𒁹 Bêl-iddi-na mâr 𒁹 Ba-si-ia
Nabû-nadin-âḫî, son of Bel-Iddina, son of Basîa

6. 𒁹 𒀀𒀀𒁍 Igi-du-zirâ-iddi-na mâri-šu ša 𒁹 E-si-ra-a-a
Igidu-zira-iddina son of Esirâa

7. ᵢ Kapti-ilāni- ⟶⊢ Marduk, dup-šar mâri-šu ša ᵢ Su-ḫa-a-a
Kapti-ilāni-Marduk, the scribe, son of Suḫâa

8. ᵢ Nabû-zirâ-êšir, dup-šar, mâri-šu ša ᵢ Na-bu-un-na-a-a
Nabû-zirâ-êšir, the scribe, son of Nabunnâa.

9. Bâb-ili ki, ârḫu Šabaṭu, ûmu XXIV KAM, šattu šanêtu
Babylon, month Sebat, day 24th, year second,

ᵢ Nabu-na-'-id šar Tin-tir-ki
Nabonidus king of Babylon.

THE SECOND DOCUMENT.—S.+ 233.

1. Išten māsu ma-na, samna māšu šiḳli kaspi ša
One and a-half mana, eight and a-half shekels of silver, from

ᵢ Iddin- ⟶⊢ Marduk
Iddin-Marduk

2. mâri-šu ša ᵢ Ba-ša-a mâr ᵢ Nûr ⟶⊢ Sin ina muḫ-ḫi
son of Bašâ, son of Nûr-Sin, unto

3. ᵢ ⟶⊢ Bin-Ad-du-na-ta-nu, mâri-šu
Ben-Hadad-natān, son of

4. ša ᵢ Ad-di-ia u ⊡ Bu-na-ni-tum âššati-šu
Addîa, and Bunanitu, his wife

5. Ša ârḫi, ina muḫ-ḫi išten ma-na išten šiḳlu kaspi
For a month, at the rate of one mana one shekel of silver

6. ina muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu i-rab-bi, ultu ûmi išten
unto them it increases; from the first day

7. ša ârḫi Simani, šattu ḫamiltu Nabû-na'id, šar Babili (Ê-ki)
of Sivan, the fifth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon,

8. ḫubulla i-nam-din-nu. Kaspu, ri-iḫ-tu kaspi
they pay the debt. The money, (and) the interest of the money,

9. ša (?) ina ši-i-[mi] bîti ša a-na
which is for the price of a house, which to

10. ᵢ I-ba-[a] iddi-nu, ârḫa-am
Ibâ they have given, monthly

11. ḫubulla i-nam-din-nu
the pledge they shall pay

REVERSE.

1. (Amēlu) Mu-kin-nu: ᶠ Ê-zi-da-šum-êpuš
Witnesses: Ê-zida-šum-êpuš

2. mâri-šu ša ᶠ Nabû-šum-naṣir mâr ᶠ La (?)-ku-ub-bu-ru
son of Nabû-šum-naṣir son of La-kubburu;

3. ᶠ Nabû-âḫî-bul-liṭ mâr ᶠ ➤✠ Marduk-šum-naṣir
Nabû-âḫî-bulliṭ son of Marduk-šum-naṣir

4. mâr ᶠ Su-ḫa-a-a u (amēlu) šangu, ᶠ Abla-a
son of Suḫâa, and the scribe, Ablaa

5. mâri-šu ša ᶠ Ukîn- ➤✠ Marduk. Bar-sip ki,
son of Ikîn-Marduk. Borsippa,

6. ârḫu Aaru, ûmu šalša, šattu ḫamiltu
month Iyyar, third day, year fifth,

Nabû-na'id, šar Babili (Ê-ki)
Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

THE THIRD DOCUMENT.—Sp. 48.

1. ✠ Bu-na-ni-tum mârat-su ša ᶠ Ḫa-ri-za-a a-na (amēlu) dâanī
Bunanitu, daughter of Hariza to the judges
ša Nabû-na'id
of Nabonidus

2. šar Bâbîli taḳ-bi um-ma: ᶠ (ilu) Bin-Ad-du-na-tan abli-šu
king of Babylon said thus: Ben-Hadad-natan son

3. ša ᶠ Ni-ik-ba-ta-'[1] a-na aš-šu-tu ir-ša-an-ni-ma šalšu
of Nikbatah to wifehood had me and three
ma-na kaspi
mana of silver

4. nu-dun-na-a il-ki-e-ma êd-it mârtu u-lid-su. Ya-a-tu
as my dowry he took and one daughter I bore him. I

[1] Var.: Ni-ik-ma-du-'.

5. u ʸ (ilu) Bin-Addu-na-tan, mu-ti-ia, na-da-nu û ma-ḫa-ri
and Ben-Hadad-natān, my husband, selling and buying

6. ina êli ka-sap nu-dun-ni-e-a ne-pu-uš-ma VIII ḳanê
with the money of my dowry made, and eight canes,

bêtu êb-šu
a ruined house

7. êrṣi-tim a-ḫu-la-a gal-la-a ki-rib Bar-sip-ki a-na tišit
the territory of a large property, within Borsippa, for nine and

šuššanu ma-na kaspi a-di
two-thirds of a mana of silver, with

8. šanê māšu ma-na kaspi ša ul-tu ʸ Iddin-(ilu)
two and a-half mana of silver which was from Iddin-

Marduk, mâri-su ša ʸ Ba-ša-a, mâr ʸ Nûr-(ilu)Sin
Marduk, son of Bašâ, descendent of Nûr-Sin,

9. a-na nis-ḫu[1] niš-ša-am-ma i-na šîm bîtu šu-a-tu
(which) to the former we added and as the price of that house

ni-id-di-din-ma
we gave and

10. it-ti a-ḫa-meš nim-ḫur ina šatti IV (kam) ʸ Nabû-na'id
with each other we traded in the 4th year of Nabonidus,

šar Bâbîli.
king of Babylon.

11. Aš-šu nu-dun-ni-e-a it-ti ʸ (ilu) Bin-Addu-na-tan mu-ti-ia
Now my dowry (was) with Ben-Hadad-natān, my husband.

12. Ar-gum-ma ʸ (ilu) Bin-Addu-na-tan i-na mi-gir lib-bi-šu
I asked (for it), and Ben-Hadad-natān, in the kindness of his [heart,

13. VIII ḳane, bîta šu-a-ta, ša ki-rib Bar-sip-ki ik-nu-uk-ma
the 8 canes, that house, which (is) within Borsippa, sealed, and

[1] Var., nis-ri.

14. a-na U-mu ṣa-a-tu pa-ni-ia u-šad-gil-ma ina kaniki-ia
for future days to me he intrusted and by my tablet
u-še-di
made (it) known

15. um-ma: Šanê māšu ma-na kaspi ša ᵢ (Ilu) Bin-
thus: "Two and a-half mana of silver which Ben-
Addu-na-tan u ✧ Bu-na-ni-tum
Hadad-natān and Bunanitu

16. ul-tu pa-ni ᵢ Iddin-(ilu) Marduk iš-šu-nim-ma ina šîm
from Iddin-Marduk have received and as the
bîtu šu-a-tu
price of that house

17. id-ḍi-nu, it-ti a-ḫa-meš id-di-ru. Kaniku šu-a-tim
have given, together they have transacted it." That contract

18. ik-nu-uk-ma ir-rit ilāni rabûti ina lib-bi iš-tur
he sealed and the curse of the great gods in the midst he wrote.

19. Ina šatti v kam Nabû-na'id, šar Bâbîli, ya-a-tu u
In the 5th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, I and
ᵢ (ilu) Bin-Addu-na-tan
Ben-Hadad-natān

20. mu-ti-ia ᵢ (ilu) Bin-Addu-a-ma-ra a-na ma-ru-tu
my husband Ben-Hadad-amara to sonship
ni-il-ḳa-am-ma
took and

21. dup-pi ma-ru-ti-šu niš-tur-ma šanê mana êšrit šiḳli kaspi
the tablet of his sonship we wrote and 2 mana ten shekels of silver

22. u u-di-e bîti nu-dun-na-a ša ✧ Nu-ub-ta-a mârti-ia
and the furniture of a house, the dowry of Nubtā, my daughter

23. nu-še-di. Mu-ta-a šîm-tum u-bil-ma i-na-an-na
we made known. My husband fate took, and therefore

24. ᵢ A-ḳa-bi-ilu mâr (amēlu) e-mi-ia a-na êli bîti û mim-ma
Aḳabi-ilu, son of my brother-in-law, upon the house and all

25. ša kan-gu-ma pa-ni-ia šu-ud-gu-lu u e-li
which he had sealed and unto me had intrusted, and upon
𒁹 Nabû-nûr-ilāni
Nabû-nûr-ilāni

26. ša ina ḳatā 𒁹 Nabû-aḫî-iddin a-na kaspi ni-bu-ku
whom by the hands of Nabu-aḫî-iddin for money we had bought,

27. pa-ḳa-ri u-šab-ši
claim he made.

REVERSE.

1. A-na maḫ-ri-ku-nu ub-la-aš, purussē-šu šuk-na
To your presence I have brought it, make its decision.

2. (Amelu) Dâani dib-bi-šu-nu iš-mu-u, dup-pa-nu û rik-sa-a-tu
The judges their words heard, the tablets and contracts

3. ša 𒀭 Bu-na-ni-tum tu-ub-la ma-ḫar-šu-nu iš-tas-su-ma
which Bunanitu had brought before them they discussed, and

4. A-ḳa-bi-ilu e-li bîti ša Bar-sip-ki, ša ku-um nu-dun-ni-e-šu
Aḳabi-ilu over the house of Borsippa, which instead of her dowry

5. pa-ni 𒀭 Bu-na-ni-tum šu-ud-gu-lu, e-li 𒁹 Nabû-nûr-ili
unto Bunanitu had been entrusted, over Nabû-nûr-ili

6. ša ši-i u mu-ti-šu a-na kas-pi i-ša-mu, û e-li mimma
whom she and her husband for silver had bought, and over anything

7. ša 𒁹 (ilu) Bin-Addu-na-ta-nu lâ u-šar-šu-u.
of Ben-Hadad-natān they gave not power.
𒀭 Bun-na-ni-tum
Bunanitu

8. u 𒁹 (ilu) Bin-Addu-a-ma-ri, ina kanikē-šu-nu uš-ziz-su.
and Ben-Hadad-amara, by their tablets, possess them.
𒁹 Iddin- (ilu) Marduk
Iddin-Marduk

9. šanê māšu ma-na kaspi-šu, ša i-na šîm
his two and a-half mana of silver, which as the price of
bîtu šu-a-tu na-ad-nu,
that house had been given,

10. i-pi-en-ni-ma i-šal-lim. Ar-ki ☆ Bu-na-ni-tum
agrees to and receives. Afterwards Bunanitu

11. šalšu māšu ma-na kapsi, nu-dun-na-šu, ta-šal-lim u
three and a-half mana of silver, her dowry, receives, and

a - ḫi zîtti - šu
besides her property

12. ᚴ Nabû-nûr-ili ☆ Nu-ub-ta-a, ki-ma rik-sa-a-tum
Nabû-nûr-ili, Nubtā, according to the agreements

13. abi-šu ta-šal-lim
of her father, receives.

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14. I-na purussē di-i-ni šu-a-tim
By the decision of this judgment.

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15. ᚴ (ilu) Nergal-ba-nu-nu, (amēlu) dânu, mâr (amēlu) Kal-du
Nergal-banunu, judge, the son of the Chaldean

16. ᚴ Nabû-âḫî-iddin, (amēlu) dânu, mâr ᚴ E-gi-bi
Nabû-âḫî-iddin, judge, the son of Egibi

17. ᚴ Nabû-šum-ukîn, (amēlu) dânu, mâr ᚴ Ir-a-ni
Nabû-šum-ukîn, judge, the son of Irani

18. ᚴ Bêl-âḫî-iddin, (amēlu) dânu, mâr . . . .
Bêl-âḫi-iddin, judge, the son of . . . .

19. ᚴ Bêl - êd - ir, (amēlu) dânu, mâr . . . .
Bêl - êdir, judge, the son of . . . .

20. ᚴ Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḳ-bi, (amēlu) dânu, mâr . . . .
Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḳbî, judge, the son of . . . .

21. ᚴ Na - di - nu, (amēlu) dupšar, mâr . . . .
Nadinu, scribe, the son of . . . .

22. ᚴ Nabû-šum-išk-un, (amēlu) dup-šar, mâr (amēlu) . . .
Nabû-šum-iškun, scribe, the son of the . . .

23. Bâbîli, araḫ Ululu, ûmu xxvi kam, šattu ix kam,
Babylon, month Elul, day 26th, year 9th,

Nabû - [na'id šar Bâbîli]
Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

NOTES UPON THE WORDS, &c.

No. 1.

1. *Ḳanû*, "a cane" (both the plant and the measure), Heb. קָנֶה. In Babylonian 60 square cubits.

   Ammat, "a cubit," Heb. אַמָּה, about 20 inches.

   Ûbanāti, plur. of *ûbānu*, "a finger," "point." *See* W.A.I. I, 18, 62, 𒁹 𒌋𒉡𒀀𒈬 = *ûbanni*, and W.A.I. I, 20, 17, where the const. plur. *ûbanāt* occurs.

   Êbšu, "ruined." *See* the note to line 6 of the obverse of Sp. 41.

   𒄑 𒄑𒄑𒄑 𒄑𒄑, plur. of *kirû*, "a plantation," explained as the meaning of 𒄑 𒄑𒄑𒄑, W.A.I. II, 15, 27 (*ki-ri-i*, case after a preposition) and elsewhere. The plural indicated here is *kirêtu*, not *kirâni*.

2. *Kirba*, "within," more usually *kirib*.

   Dâan-šum-iddina, "the Sun-god made a name." 𒀭 𒀀. = *dâanu*, "judge," one of the titles of the Sun-god.

3. 𒌋. The value of this character, when the meaning of division is implied, seems to be *māšu*. Compare W.A.I. III, 70, 175.

4. 𒁹 𒄀𒄭𒄭, in Assyrian characters 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒄀𒄭. The value of the latter characters is, in Akkadian, *nagar*. (*See* Delitzch, "Lesestücke," p. 40, col. iv, l. 4.) The Babylonian value is probably *nagaru* or *nangaru*, the same as the name of the character. The meaning is doubtful.

5. *Našpirti*, "authority"; from *šapāru*, "to send," probably connected with the Heb. סָפַר, "to write." For *naspirtu*, compare p. 273, and Smith's "Assurbanipal," p. 209, line 72, *ina našpirti Aššur*, "by the authority of Assur."

6. *Aššati*, "wife"; compare the Heb. אִשָּׁה.

𒁹𒁺𒌋, *mârat*, const. of *mârtu*, "daughter, the fem. form 𒁹𒌋, *mâru*, "male child," "son." Instead of *mârtu*, the form *mâštu* (W.A.I. V, pt. 2) is also found, with change of *r* into *š* before the dental.

8. *Zittu* (pl. *zînāti*), a word which translates the Akkadian 𒅆𒄭𒁹, *ḫala* (see W.A.I. II, pl. 39, l. 48, and pl. 40, l. 51). The meaning of this word seems to be "property." "There is neither property nor money belonging to Dâan-šum-iddin in the house." See also p. 286, where the property of Nubtā, daughter of Bunanitu, is spoken of. The word *ḫala* is of very frequent occurrence in the early Babylonian dated tablets, and in every case the meaning "property" seems to fit. *Zittu* evidently comes from the root *zânu* or *za'anu*, in Puul (=Heb. Piel), "to adorn"; the ideas *ornament*, *furniture*, and *property*, being derived one from another. Compare the Arabic زَانَ "to adorn," زِينَةٌ "ornament."

9. 𒁹𒀀𒌋 𒀀𒌋 𒁹, *yânu*, evidently "not to be," the Heb. אַיִן. Compare my "Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-writing," pl. 9, K. 831, l. 13, and the same text, pl. 8, rev. l. 8: *ana pani-šu šaprak, šipirti ina pani-šu yânu*, "I have sent to his presence, the letter in his presence is not"; *kî illak, šipirti lišša', u yânū, lâ illakku*, "when he goes, may he take the letter—but it is not (so), he will not go"! Compare also the *ânu* of the Behistun inscription, l. 19.

10. 𒄀𒀀𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒁹, a compound evidently to be transcribed by the Assyrian 𒄀𒀀𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒁹.[1] The probable Semitic Babylonian pronunciation is *kaniku* (compare W.A.I. V, pl. 32, l. 19, with Haupt, "Keilschrifttexte," p. 72, l. 38, and W.A.I. II, pl. 4, l. 42, etc.), and means "a contract-tablet." *Kunukku*, from the same root, means a stone seal, probably a cylinder.

Iknuku, Aorist Kal of *kanāku*, "to seal." (For other forms of this verb, *see* p. 293.)

[1] The Babylonian 𒁹𒁹𒁹 stands both for 𒁹𒁹𒁹 and 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 in Assyrian.

REVERSE.

1. [illegible], *ûmu*, "day," perhaps here used with the signification of "when."

   [illegible], *gabri*, "copy," a "duplicate"; an Akkadian loan-word, translated by the Assyrian *miḫru* (W.A.I. V, pt. 2).

   Kunuk, const. of *kunukku*, "a seal." (*See* the note to line 10.)

   Maḫiri, gen. of *maḫiru*, participle Kal of *maḫāru*, "to receive."

   [illegible], *mimma*, "anything," "everything." The pronunciation hitherto given to this character is *nin*, which it was supposed to have on account of the sign [illegible] (Assyr. [illegible])—which has, when used to express the word "anything," the pronunciation of *nig* in Akkadian—and on account of the Assyrian [illegible]. Besides the fact, however, that the Babylonian equivalent of [illegible] is [illegible], it is also to be noted that a variant of [illegible], namely, [illegible], occurs, and that the old Babylonian form of [illegible] appears as [illegible]. The whole is cleared up, however, by a variant in the fourth tablet of the Creation series, where [illegible], *mi-im-me*, occurs for [illegible] in the phrase *adi lâ âṣî mimme-ša*. The word is therefore declined like any ordinary noun: Nom. *mimmu*, Gen. *mimmi*, Acc. *mimma*.

   Riksu (pl. *riksāte*), a bond or contract. (*See* p. 296.) Root, *rakāsu*, "to bind."

2. *Ittanmaru*, Aor. Itanaphal (tertiary form of Kal) of *namāru*, "to shine," infinitive (not yet found) *itanmuru*. It is not unlikely that this form signifies "to appear," in which case it would be better, perhaps, to translate the phrase with which the reverse begins as follows: "When the copy, with the seal of the receiver (whether there be any contract for that house in the house of Dâan-šum-iddin, or elsewhere) appears, it (the house) is (the property) of Ben-Hadad-natān and Bunanitu."

3. *Iddina-Marduk*, "Merodach gave." *Nûr-Sin*, "light of the Moon-god."
4. *Munaḫḫiš-Marduk*, "the benefited by Merodach."

   Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, "with Merodach is life." *Nabunnâa*, "the Nabunnite."
5. *Nabû-nadin-âḫi*, "Nebo has given a brother." *Bêl-iddina* "Bêl gave."

   Basîa.
6. *Igidu-zirâ-iddina*, "Merodach gave seed." *Esirâa*, "the Esirite."
7. *Kapti-ilāni-Marduk*, "the honoured of the gods is Merodach."

   Suḫâa, "the Suḫite."
8. *Nabû-zirâ-êšir*, "Nebo directed seed."

No. 2. S.+, 233.

7. 𒀀𒌋 𒄭𒁕 ǴAR-RA, in Babylonian, *ḫubullu*, evidently the Hebrew חֹבֶל, "pledge," here, that which one pledges one's-self to pay, a debt. (*See* W.A.I. II, plate 12, line 35, etc.)

   Inamdinnu, or, perhaps, better, *inádinnu* or *inádīnu*, pres. Kal of *nadānu*, "to give."

   Rîḫtu, "interest." A rather frequent word. The meaning is gathered from the context.

10. 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒌑𒄴, evidently to be read *ârḫam*, 𒁹𒁹 𒌑𒄴 having the value of *am*, or *ârḫa-ma*, *-ma* being the translation of 𒁹𒁹 𒌑𒄴 (*see* W.A.I. V, pl. 22, l. 30). Whichever way the particle be read, however, the meaning and derivation are the same.

REVERSE.

1. *Ê-zida-šum-êpus*, "(the temple) Ê-zida made a name."
2. *Nabû-šum-naṣir*, "Nebo protected the name." *Lâ-kubburu* (the first character doubtful, but very probable).
3. *Nabû-âḫî-bulliṭ*, "Nebo, give life to my brother"! *Marduk-šum-naṣir*, "Merodach protected the name."

4. *Ablāa*, "my son."

5. *Ukîn-Marduk*, "Merodach established."

In writing the name Borsippa, the scribe has written the first part correctly, but in inscribing the character *sip*, has written the first part of (namely,), and then added to it the sign , leaving out the other four wedges which would have completed the character. , however, has also the value of *sip*, hence, probably, the mistake.

No. 3. OBVERSE.

1. , SA-KUD, the ordinary ideograph for *dâanu*, "a judge." In Akk., lit. "the decider," from , *kud*, 'to cut."

, NABU-IM-TUG, a very usual way of writing the name Nabonidus. The group, as here written, is composed of (in Assyrian), a common ideogram for the god Nebo, and , evidently another form of (IM-TE) = *puluḫtu*, "fear," "reverence." Other ways of writing the name are (*see* the variant, line 10) and , Nabû-na-'-id. The meaning of the name is, "Nebo is glorious." Compare, for *na'id*, the Arabic نهد, the primary signfication of which seems to have been "to be great, beautiful."

2. , *Tin-tir*, a very common ideograph for Babylon. The literal meaning is "Life-seat" (TIN, "life," TIR or TUR, "to sit"); in Assyrian *Šubat balaṭi*, "seat of life."

, *taḳbî*, 3rd pers. sing., fem. of *ḳēbû*, "to speak."

3. The variants Nikbata' and Nikmadu' probably arise from bad writing of the original, which is lost. It is often very difficult to distinguish the difference between , *ma*, and , *ba* in the Babylonian texts. , *du*, and , *ta*, are also liable to be mistaken for each other, when badly written.

4. [illegible], *nudunnā-a*, the accusative, with possessive pronoun, first pers. sing., of *nudunnū*, a word formed (like *kunukku*, "stone seal," and *purussū*, "decision") from *nadānu*, "to give." Other words for a marriage gift or possession are *tirḫatu*, *ûzūbu*.[1]

[illegible], a character formed from the two signs [illegible], by placing the [illegible] within the larger character. (Compare [illegible] for [illegible], *išt-en*.) The most likely reading of [illegible] is that adopted in the transcription, *êdit*, from *êdu*, "one." The second character of the group is the phonetic complement.

6. [illegible], *bîtu êbšu;* a rather difficult expression. The tablet first translated (77–10–2. 2) gives, in the first line, [illegible], *bîtu e-ib-šu*, an unusual style of representing a word, used, perhaps, to indicate that *êbšu* was not to be read as if from *êpēšu*, "to make." The variant gives [illegible], SIG-šu, the ideograph *sig*, "*to be weak*," and the phonetic complement of *êbšu*, which must, therefore, have this meaning. Compare the Hebrew עָבַשׁ, "to waste away, decay," of seeds when in the ground, Chaldee עֲבַשׁ, "to rot." Dr. Oppert's translation of this word ("Documents Juridiques," p. 177), "unfinished," is not improbable.[2]

7. [illegible], *a-ḫu-la-a;* a doubtful word, evidently meaning "property." Perhaps borrowed from the Akkadian.

[illegible], *gallā*, "great" (from Akkadian).

[illegible], *Bar-sip(ki)*; the most usual way of indicating the city Borsippa. This name is often spelled [illegible], *Bar-sip(ki)*, and sometimes [illegible] or [illegible], *Bur-sip(ki)*, whence, evidently, the form Borsippa. The Sumerian form of the name is [illegible], *Dūr-si-a-ab-ba(ki)*.

[1] The words for a gift (of tribute, &c.) are *biltu*, *mandattu* (from *nadānu*), and *igisû* (from the Akk. [illegible] IGI-SA).

[2] In the 1st line of the tablet S + 420, the word is spelled with the characters [illegible], *e-ib-šu*.

The variant [illegible] here gives, seemingly, the more correct form. The meaning of [illegible] is doubtful, but it probably signifies "one-sixth."

The use of the character [illegible] for [illegible] in [illegible], *a-di*, is here noteworthy.

9. *Nisḫu*, evidently "transaction." The correctness of the reading *nisḫu*, and not *nisri*, is implied by the tablet 76–10–16. 20: *Nisḫutum* ([illegible]) *ša Iddin-Marduk u Nabû-ukîn. Šuššanu mana kaspi Iddin-Marduk nisḫutum ina araḫ Ṭêbitu, šattu* [illegible] *nasḫu* ([illegible]). *Šuššanu mana kaspi Nabû-ukîn nisḫu* ([illegible]) *ina araḫ Ṭêbitu šattu* [illegible] *nasḫu.* "The business of Iddin-Marduk and Nabû-ukîn. Iddin-Marduk has done business (to the extent of) ⅔ mana of silver, in the month Tebet, 41st year. Nabû-ukîn has made a transaction (to the extent of), ⅔ mana of silver, in the month Tebet, 41st year."

Niššâmma, 1st pers. plur. Aor. Kal of *našû*, "to raise," "bring," with enclitic conjunction *ma*. The doubling of the *m* shows that the foregoing vowel is long.

[illegible], *niddidin-ma*, for *nittidin-ma*, and this again for *nittadin* (*nintadin*)*-ma*. 1st pers. plur. Aor. (I. 2) of *nadānu*, "to give." This is an example of backward assimilation.

12. [illegible], *argumma*, 1st pers. sing. Aor. Kal of *ragāmu*, "to ask," "demand," "litigate," "make a noise." (*See* the *Proceedings*, Feb. 6th, 1883, pp. 72–73.) The value of *gum* for [illegible] (Ass. [illegible]) is proved by a variant, which gives [illegible], *gu-um*, for [illegible] (W.A.I. V, pt. 2).

13. [illegible], *iknuk-ma*, "he sealed and," Aor. Kal of *kanāku*, a root evidently of Akkadian origin. Compare W.A.I. IV, 16, line 59. The third pers. Permansive occurs in line 25, in the form of [illegible], *kangu*, where *g* is written for *k* after *n*, as in [illegible], *iš-kun-ga*, for *iškun-ka*, "he established thee." (*See* also page 288.)

14. *Ana ûmu ṣâtam*, lit.: "for a day of the future." [illegible] can hardly be read *zâtam* (Heb. זוֹת), as this would be a feminine plural form, and the form of that pronoun which is found with *ûmu* is *zûtu* ([illegible] *šanê ûmē zûtu*, "those two days"). The feminine plural of *ûmu* (*ûmatu*) is extremely rare.

[illegible], *ušadgil-ma*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. Aor. Shaphel of *dagālu*, "to look."

[illegible], *ušēdî*, "he caused to know." Aor. Shaphel of *îdû*, "to know."

16. [illegible] *iššûnimma*, "they have taken," Aor. Kal of *našû*, with termination *-ni*, and enclitic conjunction *-ma*. (*See* the note to line 9.)

17. [illegible], *îṭṭiru*, a very frequent word, probably meaning "they performed *or* transacted," from the verb *êṭēru*. The forms *inniṭṭir* (Niph.), *êṭir* (Aor. or Perm. Kal) also occur. Probable original meaning "to add," then "to encompass," "transact." (Compare W.A.I. IV, 69, 60.) Evidently the same as the Hebrew עָטַר.

18. [illegible], *ir-rit*, a word of doubtful meaning, evidently connected with *ârratu*, "curse."

20. *Ana mârūtu nilḳâmma*, "we took to sonship and." *Nilḳâmma* is 1st pers. plur. Aor. Kal of *lēḳû*, "to take," Heb. לָקַח, with the enclitic conjunction *-ma*. (*See* note to line 9.)

22. [illegible], *ûdê*, "furniture" (the meaning is implied by the context). Evidently the plural of a word *ûdû*, perhaps connected with the Heb. יָדָה. Rather frequent.

22. [illegible], *Nubtâ* or *Nubta-a*, evidently for *Nubtîa*, "my bee," the name of the daughter of Bunanitu. Compare the Heb. Deborah (דְּבוֹרָה).

23. [illegible], *nušêdî*, "we made known" (ידע). (*See* the note to line 14.)

[illegible], *muta-a*, "my husband"; accusative of *mutu*, with possessive pronoun of the 1st pers. sing. Compare the Heb. מְתִים, "men," Ethiopic ሙት, מְתוּשָׁאֵל= Ass. *mutu-ša-ili*, "man of god." This form of the name, with *ša*, "of," following the nominative, has not been found. The name, as it appears in the early Babylonian case-tablets, is [illegible], *Mut-ili*, the construct case followed by the genitive.

Inanna, "therefore." Compare, for this word, W.A.I. II, pl. 25, l. 18 *ab*. Evidently composed of *ina* and *anna* ("by this").

24. [illegible], *Aḳabi-Ilu*, evidently the Aphel of a verb *ḳâbu* with *ilu*, "god." ("God spoke"?) Verbs weak of the middle radical seem to be the only ones having the Aphel conjugation (*aṭâbu*, from *ṭâbu*, "to be good," *arâmu*, from *râmu* "to love," *anâḫu*, from *nâḫu*, "to rest."

[illegible], *êmîa*, "my brother-in-law," from *êmu*, a relation by marriage.

[illegible], *mimma*, "everything." (*See* p. 289.)

25. [illegible], *kangu*. (*See* the note to line 13.)

[illegible], *šudgulu*, "he intrusted"; 3rd pers. sing. masc. Shaphel of *dagālu*, "to look."

[illegible], *Nabû-nûr-Sin*, evidently a mistake for [illegible], *Nabû-nûr-ili*, "Nebo, light of god." The [illegible], however, may be a defectively written [illegible], in which case we must read *Nabû-nûr-ilāni*, "Nebo, light of the gods." (*See* Reverse, line 5.)

26. [illegible], 1st pers. plur. Aor. Kal of *âbâku*, the meaning of which seems to be "to acquire." Hence *âbkatu*, seemingly "title-deed," in the tablet of legal precedents.

27. [illegible], *paḳari ušabši* (with *ina êli*, *ina muḫḫi*, or *ana muḫḫi*), "to lodge a claim (upon)." Compare the phrase, "A man who sold slaves for money, and *paḳaru ina muḫḫi ibšû*, had a claim upon (them)" (tablet of legal precedents), and *ina ûmu paḳari ana muḫḫi Nanâ-Bâbîli-šininni, âmat mutim, ittabšû*, "when a claim is made upon Nanâ-Bâbîli-šininni, the servant of the men." ("Proceedings," Vol. V, p. 304.) *Ušabši* is Permansive Shaphel of *bašû*, "to be," also "to have."

Reverse.

1. *Ûblaš*, "I have brought it," is for *ûbla-šu*. *Ûbla*, Aor. Kal from *âbâlu*, "to bring." (ובל.)

   [illegible], *eš-bar*, for [illegible], *aš-bar*, an Akkadian word, of which the Semitic equivalent is *purussû*, "decision," from *parâsu*. (For the form, compare *nudunnû*, "dowry," *kunukkû*, "seal," etc.)

   [illegible], *-ani*, vowel-lengthening and pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. (in Akkadian); in Babylonian *-šu*.

   [illegible], *šukna*, imperative plural Kal of *šakânu*, "to make."

2. [illegible], *dibbi-šunu*, "their words." *Dibbu*, noun from *dabâbu*, "to speak." The plural pronoun is difficult to understand.

   Riksâtu, plural of *riksu*, from *rakâsu*, "to bind."

3. *Tûbla*, 3rd pers. fem. Aor. Kal of *âbâlu*. (*See* line 1.)

Ištassû-ma, 3rd pers. plur. masc. Aor. Iphteal of *šasû*, "to speak." It is from the Iphtaal (III, 2) of this root, evidently, that the word *šitassû*, "consideration," in the phrase *ana tâmartî šitassîa*, "for my seeing and considering," comes. Flemming, in his dissertation upon the India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, translates it by "reading."

6. *Išâmu*, 3rd pers. plur. masc. Aor. Kal of *šâmu*, "to give a price," borrowed from the Akkadian *sam*, "price."

7. [illegible], *ušaršû* (with *eli*), "they caused to have power over," that is, "gave up to," Aor. Shaphel of *rašû*, "to have." (Compare Chald. רְשָׁא.)

8. [illegible], *ušzissu*, probably for [illegible], *ušzîzzu*, Shaphel of *zâzu* or *za'āzu*, "to hand over," "distribute."

10. *Ipennî*, a difficult word, pres. Kal of *pēnû** (root פנה, or, better still, פנע) evidently *to look upon with favour*, a meaning to which that of the Arabic فنع best agrees.

Išallim, 3rd pers. sing., pres. Kal of *šalāmu*, here, evidently *to acknowledge (the receipt of)*, or, simply *to receive*, in which case the words *manma ûl išallīma ina muḫḫi* [*Gumātu agašū Magušu*] (Behistun, line 21) might be translated: "Nobody received anything concerning this Gomates the Magian" (had an opinion for or against).

11. *Aḫi*, evidently "besides," from *âḫu*, "side."

[illegible], ǴA-LA, an Akkadian word, in Assyrian, *zîttu*. (*See* the note to 77–10–2. 2, Obv., l. 8.)

14. [illegible], *purussū*, "decision." (*See* the note to the first line of the Reverse.)

Dîni, gen. of *dînu*, "judgment," from *dânu*, "to judge."

15. *Nergal-banunu*, "Nergal our begetter."

𒀭 𒁹𒌋 𒅗𒁺𒌑 (*amēlu*), *kal-du*, the Chaldean, here the name rather of a class of people (astrologers) than of a tribe or nationality. Spelled also 𒀭 𒅗𒁺𒌑 𒆠 *Kal-du* and 𒀭 𒅗𒁺𒌑 𒆠 𒀀𒁺𒌑 𒆠, *Ka-al-du*.

16–22. The meanings of the other names of judges and scribes are: *Nabû-aḫî-iddin*, "[illegible]bo has given brothers"; *Nabû-šum-ukîn*, "Nebo has est[illegible]d a name"; *Bêl-aḫî-iddin*, "Bêl has given brot[illegible]"; *Bêl-êdir*, "Bêl protects"; *Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḳbî*, "Nebo commanded his life" (commanded that he should live); *Nadinu*, "giving" or "giver"; *Nabû-šum-iškun*, "Nebo made his name."

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TRANSACTIONS

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NOTES ON EGYPTIAN STELÆ, PRINCIPALLY OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

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Read 4th November, 1884.

THE custom of the ancient Egyptians of erecting sepulchral stelæ in honour of their deceased kings, nobles, persons of rank, relatives, and friends, has proved a most valuable aid to the modern student of the Egyptian language. It has enabled him to learn much of the social life of the Egyptian which would otherwise have passed away in oblivion and forgetfulness.[1] Though perfectly true that the formulæ are much the same in many of their monumental tablets, still it is equally true that something may be learned from each and every one, either about the religion, or life, or deeds of the ancient Egyptians. This is my apology for the few notes which I have put together in this paper on the sepulchral tablets of Neχt-Åmes, Thothmes, Remà, and Åmes-mes. Before going farther, however, I am bound to express my gratitude to Dr. Birch and Mr. Le Page Renouf for their generous assistance so freely rendered to me in the preparation of this paper, and to offer them my sincerest thanks.

[1] See Dr. Birch's account of the characteristics of the tablets in various dynasties, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 144 and 145.

The first three stelæ belong to the XVIIIth, and the last to the XIXth dynasty. Of Neχt-Åmes we have two stelæ: one is preserved at Berlin,[1] and is dated in the fourth year of the reign of Åi, while the other stands in the Museum of the Louvre.[2] The date of this latter is effaced. Each of the tablets of Neχt-Åmes is rounded at the top, and two pedestals are represented on each, with Anubis upon them. They face each other, and over each is an *ut'at;* above the head of each are *åp uat,* "opener of the roads." At the back of Anubis, on the right, are "north, lord of Abydos," and the signs for "altar of incense." The same signs are repeated on the left side, save that "south," takes the place of . The stelæ of Neχt-Åmes were made in the reign of Åi, towards the close of the XVIIIth dynasty. In one tablet Neχt-Åmes says that he was the "superintendent of works in the temple of Åi, prince and first prophet of Åmes and Isis." In the other he is called "superintendent of the double storehouse of all the gods in Takaḥti and the god Åmes in Xenti"; also "first prophet of Åmes and Isis in Åpu" (Panopolis). It is clear that he was a man of the highest rank under king Åi,[3] and the inscription represents him as holding some of the highest positions in the land. In each stele the prenomen and name of the king have been erased. According to Brugsch,[4] Åi was the husband of Tiï, the nurse of king χuenåten. He was raised from dignity to dignity, becoming "master of the horse," and "royal scribe." He was a follower of the cult of Åmen, and appears to have been a priest in the temple of this god before he was raised to the throne.[5] He honoured the priests of the god in a distinguished manner,

[1] For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler,* iii, 114 *i;* it was partly translated by Brugsch in the "Deutsche Revue," vii, p. 73.

[2] For the text compare Prisse, "Monuments," pl. 17, and Sharpe, "Egyptian Inscriptions," pl. 106.

[3] Among many other high offices, he held the post of "fan-bearer to king Åi." Birch, "History of Egypt," p. 111.

[4] "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol. I, p. 461.

[5] Wiedemann, "Aegyptische Geschichte," p. 404, *et seq.*

and his wars north and south must have added many substantial victories to Egypt. The prince of Cush, Pa-ur, sent him presents as a mark of his (Âi's) supremacy, and he is represented on the walls of the rock grottoes at Shataui with this prince at his side praying to various gods.[1] The "godly father" Âi prepared for himself a tomb in the Biban-el-Moluk, to the west of Thebes, in the mountains. His tomb, and the granite sarcophagus in it, have been preserved to this day. The following are rather free renderings of the inscriptions of Neχt-Âmes; those printed under the text are more literal:—

No. I.

Prisse, "Monuments Égyptiens," Plate 17.

Translation.

1. Dated the 1st day of the ..... month of the spring of the ..... year of the Majesty of Ḥar Rā, the powerful bull, the saffron diademed, the lord of the two crowns, the supremely mighty, the destroyer of the Asiatics, the golden hawk, the creator of the two earths;
2. king of the north and south, chief of the nine bows, Rā-χeperu-âri-māt, son of the Sun, proceeding from his belly, lord of diadems, godly father Âi, god, ruler of Uast, Osiris, lord of Abydos beloved, giving life.
3. May ..... south and north, and Anubis upon his hill grant to me glory in heaven, power upon earth, and triumph in χer-neter. May they grant that I go in and come forth from my tomb,
4. that my majesty refresh its shade, that I drink water from my cistern every day, that all my limbs be solid, that the Nile
5. give me bread and flowers of every kind at the season, that I pass over the length of my land every day without ceasing, and that my soul
6. may light upon the branches of the trees which I have planted. May I refresh my face beneath my sycamores, may I eat bread of their giving,

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, 114 *e–h*.

7. may I have my mouth wherewith I may speak like the followers of Horus, may I come forth to heaven, may I descend to earth, may I be not shut out upon
8. the road, may there not be done to me what my *ka* execrates, may my soul never be captive, may I be in the midst of the obedient, among the faithful.
9. May I plough my fields in Seχet-Âaru, may I attain the "Field of Peace," may one come out to me with jugs of beer and cakes,
10. the cakes of the lords of eternity, may I receive my slices from the joint upon the table of the great god; I the *ka* of Neχt-Âmes, first prophet of the god Âmes.
11. He says: I have done the behests of men and the will of the gods, wherefore I have given bread to the hungry, and I have satisfied the indigent. I have followed
12. the god in his temple, my mouth hath not spoken insolently against my superior officers, there hath been no haughtiness in my step, but I have walked measuredly[1] (*gradatim*), I have performed the law beloved by the king.
13. I understood his commands, in my place I watched to exalt his {souls / will}, I rose up for his worship every day, I gave my mind to what
14. he said without ever hesitating at what he determined with reference to me, I took uprightness and fairness, I understood the things about which I should keep silence.
15. The lord my king refreshed and favoured me for my well doing, he saw that my hands were vigorous through my heart, he advanced my seat exceedingly, he placed me in the council chamber, me,
16. the *ka* of Neχt-Âmes, triumphant, the superintendent of the prophets of the lords of Âpu. Says he: O ye living upon earth, living for eternity, enduring for ever, ye priests

[1] As to the abhorrence with which Orientals looked upon a haughty walk, see Isaiah iii, 16 : הָלוֹךְ וְטָפוֹף תֵּלֵכְנָה וּבְרַגְלֵיהֶם תְּעַכַּסְנָה . . . . . בְּנוֹת צִיּוֹן

17. and ministrants of Osiris, everyone learned in divine traditions; when ye enter my sepulchre and pass through it, do ye utter your prayers by my tablet, and do ye proclaim my name without cessation in
18. the presence of the lords of law. So may your gods favour you, and may ye transfer your dignities to your children after a full old age, provided that ye say,
19. "May Osiris grant a royal oblation to Neχt-Âmes, lord of fidelity, superintendent of works in the temple of Âi, prince and first prophet of Âmes and Isis. May his memorial abide in the seat of eternity."

No. II.

Lepsius, "Denkmäler," Ab. iii, 114 *i*.

Translation.

1. Dated the first day of the fourth month of the spring, in the fourth year of the Majesty of Ḥar Rā, the powerful bull, the saffron diademed, the lord of the two crowns, the supremely mighty, the destroyer of the Asiatics, the golden hawk, the just ruler, the creator of the two earths,
2. the king of the north and south, the chief of the nine bows, lord of the two earths, Rā-χeperu-âri-māt, son of the Sun, proceeding from his belly, beloved by him; lord of diadems, the godly father Âi, god, lord of Uast, Osiris lord of Tasert, beloved, life giving.
3. May Âmen Rā, lord of the thrones of the two earths, Ptah Socharis, Osiris, Un-nefer, lord of Rustau, grant a royal oblation. May they grant sepulchral meals, oxen, ducks, and linen bandages, thousands of all good and pure things, thousands of all sweet
4. and choice things, the gifts of heaven, and the products of the earth, which Nile brings forth from his caverns. May they grant the breathing of the delightful breezes of the north wind,
5. the eating of bread, the gathering of flowers, and the receiving of food in felicity from the produce of the Seχet Âaru. May I walk

6. over the everlasting road of the genii, the spirits and the noble ones, making whatsoever transformations I please among the followers of Un-nefer and the going in and coming forth from χar-neter.
7. May my soul be not turned back when it wishes to come forth, may it come forth as a living soul, may it drink water drawn from the depths of the river, may it receive
8. the cakes of the lord of eternity, may it come into the presence every day, on the festival of the new moon, on the festival of the month, on the festival of the sixth day, on the festival of the half month, on the festival of Uaka, on the festival of Thoth,
9. on the festival of the rising of Åmes, on the festival of the rising of Sothis, on the festival of the great heat, on the festival of the little heat, on the festival of the altar, on the festival of the receiving of Nile water, and all festivals of Osiris at the beginning of the seasons
10. of the lord of the gods. Adoration to Rā when he shines, who is worshipped when he sets in the land of Life, breathing the air coming from the horizon; the full breeze of the north wind coming
11. upon both sides when his name is proclaimed. Let his two hands be put down upon oblations, provisions, and sepulchral offerings when he is invoked, may water be received by the hands of the *ka* minister.
12. Let him have possession of bread, let him have possession of beer upon whichever table his *ka* pleases, let him eat bread upon the altar of Neb-er-t'ra, and upon the table of the lords of eternity.
13. May pure food be given to him from the bread of Un-nefer, may he go along in the boat of χar-neter to the lands of
14. the Seχet Åaru, may he open up the roads, may he open up the ways, may he follow Socharis in Rustau without being turned back
15. at the door of the Ṭūat, may he take his fill of wine and milk there, may he receive ointment, unguent and

stibium which rejoice the heart, may he receive clothing and

16. linen bandages, he, the *ka* of Neχt-Åmes, triumphant, the superintendent of the double storehouse of all the gods in Takaḥti and the god Åmes of χenti, and first prophet of Åmes and Isis in Åpu, who gives

17. divine oblations to the gods, and sepulchral meals to the spirits in the presence of A.U.S.,[1] king of the north and the south, Rā-χeperu-åri-māt A.U.S., may he be established and made to increase like the

18. heavens, and may he be renewed like the god Åmes,[2] praying all the gods that he the actual *suten reχ* Neχt-Åmes may enjoy health for millions of years. He says: O ye gods who are in heaven, O ye gods who are on

19. earth, O ye gods who are in the Ṭūat carrying along Rā and conveying the good god to the western horizon of heaven, may my words be carried to you

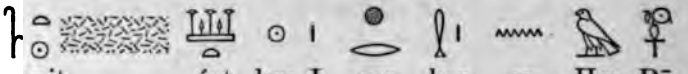
20. as the prayers of a servant to his lord, may I who am agreeable to the sovereign, the king upon earth, be favoured. May Osiris grant that I may rest in my eternal seat, and that I may join . . . . .

[1] *ānχ ut'a snab.*

[2] The god's name usually written is here spelt out phonetically.

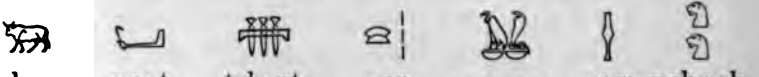
No. I.

Prisse, "Monuments Égyptiens," Plate 17.

1. 

renpit ..... śat hru I χer ḥen en Ḥer Rā

year ..... day one of the majesty of Har Rā

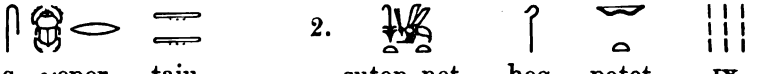


ka neχt teḥent χau ..... χerp peḥpeḥ

bull powerful of saffron diadems {lord of two crowns} supremely mighty

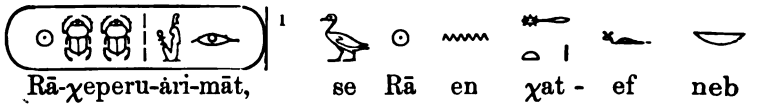
ṭer Sati Ḥer nub ḥeq māt

destroyer of the Asiatics hawk golden ruler of justice



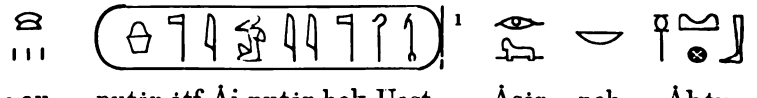
s - χeper taiu

creator of the two earths

2. 

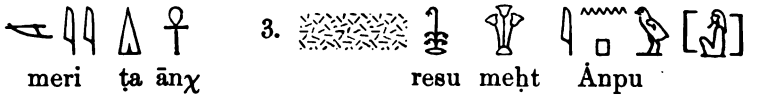
suten net ḥeq peṭet IX

{king of the north and south} chief of the bows nine

 [1]

Rā-χeperu-ȧri-māt, se Rā en χat - ef neb

Rā-χeperu-ȧri-māt, son of the Sun of belly his lord of

 [1]

χau nutȧr ȧtf Ȧi nutȧr ḥeḳ Uast Ȧsȧr neb Ȧbṭu

diadems divine father Ȧi god ruler of Uast Osiris lord of Abydos

meri ṭa ānχ resu meḥt Ȧnpu

beloved giving life. south north Anubis

[1] Erased on the tablet.

ḥṭep ṭu-f ṭā-sen χu em pet usr em ta
upon hill his may give they glory in heaven power in earth

māχeru em χer-neter pert āk er ás-á qeb
triumph in χer-neter going in coming forth to tomb my, may refresh

4. ḥen-á śuit-ef surá-á māu em
majesty my shade its, may drink I water from

śe-á hru neb rut āt-á neb ṭā-na
tank-my day every, may be solid limbs my all, may give me

Ḥāpi 5. ta ḥotepet renpit neb
Nile bread flowers all

trá-s suut ḥer mā nu ta-á hru neb
at season its, passing over length of land my day every

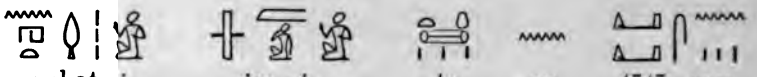
án ábu χeni 6. ba-á ḥer āχamu
without ceasing, that may alight soul my upon the branches

nu men ár-na-es seqebeb-á ḥra χeru
of the trees made have I it may refresh I face (my) beneath

---

[1] Brugsch, "fruit." But see and Pyramid of Unas, line 558.

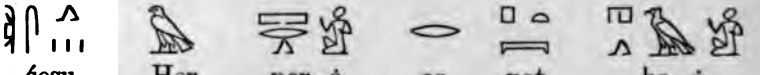
[2] Prisse, .



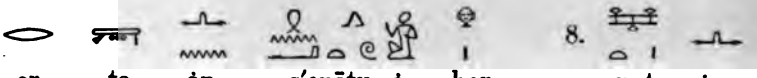
nehat-ȧ ȧm-ȧ ta en ṭāṭā-sen
sycamores my, may eat I bread of giving their,

7.

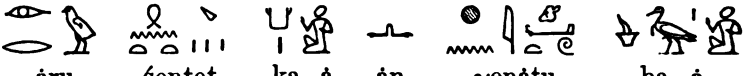
ȧu-nȧ re-ȧ t'eṭiu-ȧ ȧm-f mȧ
let there be to me mouth my that may speak I with it like



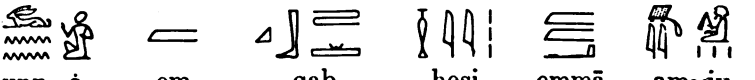
śesu Ḥer per-ȧ er pet ha-ȧ
followers of Horus, may come forth I to heaven, may come down I



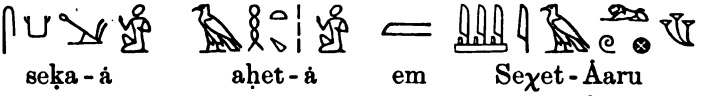
er ta ȧn s'enātu-ȧ ḥer 8. uat ȧn
to earth, not may be shut out I upon the road, not let



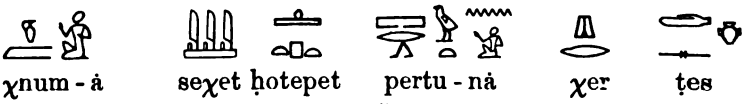
ȧru śentet ka-ȧ ȧn χenȧtu ba-ȧ
be done what execrates genius my, not let be captive soul my,



unn-ȧ em qab ḥesi emmā amχiu
let be me in the midst of the obedient among the faithful,

9. 

seḳa-ȧ aḥet-ȧ em Seχet-Ȧaru
may plough I fields my in Seχet-Ȧaru,



χnum-ȧ seχet ḥotepet pertu-nȧ χer ṭes
may attain I the "Field of Peace," let one come out to me with jugs

10.

pasen em sennu nu nebu ḥeḥ seśep-à

and cakes, with the cakes of lords of eternity, may receive I

śebu-à em ur en aufu ḥer χaut

slices my from the joint upon the tables

ent nutàr āa en ka en nutàr ḥen ḥtep en Àmes

of the god great, to the ka *of prophet first of Àmes,*

11.

Neχt-Àmes t'eṭ-f àu àrnā ḥesest ret

Neχt-Àmes. Says he: done have I behests of men and

hereret nutàru ḥeres àu ṭā-nà ta en ḥeqr

the will of the gods; wherefore given have I bread to the hungry,

12.

sesau-nà àṭet àu śes-nà nutàr em pa-f

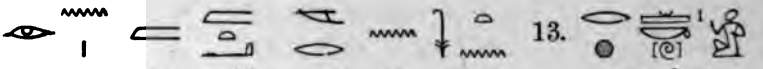
satiated have I the indigent, followed have I god in house his

àn āa re-à em śenit àn

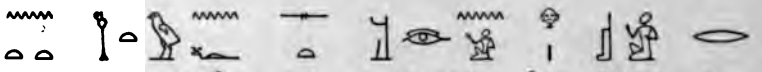
not hath magnified mouth my against superior officers, not is

peṭ em nemt-à śem-à ḥer sa χenṭ

there stretch in stride my, walk I according to measure.



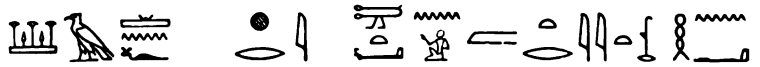
ár-ná em māt mer en suten 13. reχ-kuá
done have I law beloved by the king, knew I



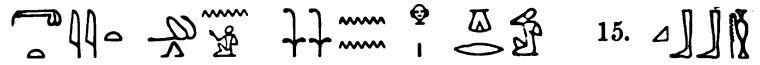
entet utu-nef set res-ná ḥer ást-á er
what commands he it, watched I at seat my to

seqa baiu-f ṭūa-ná er ṭūa-f hru neb er ṭā-ná
exalt souls his, rose I for worship his day every, gave I

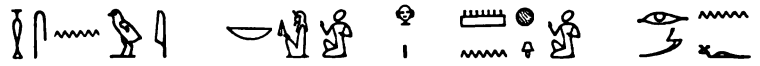
áb-á χenti 14. t'eṭ-f án māhi ḥer
heart my to what says he without hesitating at what



śa - nef χer-á ṭet-ná metrit (?) ḥna
determined he {*with reference to me,*} *took I uprightness and*



metit peḥ-ná enen ḥer kar-á 15. qebeb
fairness, arrived I at what was for silence, refreshing,



ḥesna-uá neb-á ḥer menχ-á maa-nef
favoured me lord the king my, for beneficence my, saw he that

rut āā-á án áb-á seχenti ást-á
vigorous were hands my through heart my, advancing seat my

---

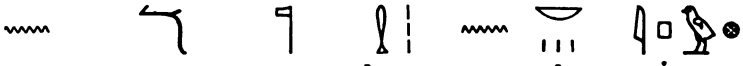
[1] Prisse

[2] Brugsch, "without astonishment."

16.

ȧker [?] ṭa-nef-uȧ em saḥi en ka

exceedingly, {*gave placed*} *he me in council chamber, the genius*

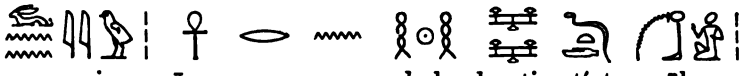


en mer nutȧr ḥenu en nebu Ȧpu

of the superintendent of the prophets of the lords of Ȧpu

Neχt-Ȧmes māχeru t'eṭ-f ȧ ānχiu ḥotepiu ta

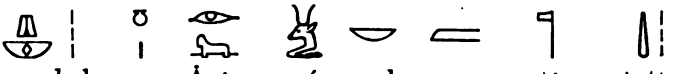
Neχt-Ȧmes triumphant. Says he O ye living ones upon earth



unniu ānχ er en ḥeḥ ḥentiu t'eṭ ābu

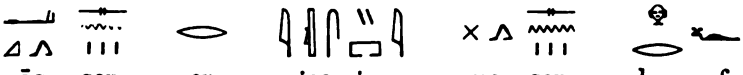
who are living for eternity, enduring for ever priests and

17.



χer-ḥebu nu Ȧsȧr seśa neb em nutȧru ṭeṭṭu

ministrants of Osiris, learned one every in divine traditions

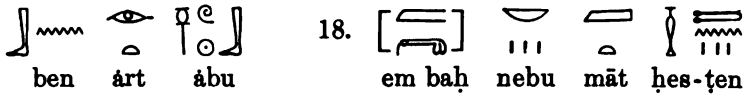


āq-sen er ȧsa-ȧ ua-sen ḥer-ef

enter they into sepulchre my, traverse they through it,

śeṭ-sen em uthu-ȧ seχa-sen ren-ȧ

may pronounce they by tablet my, let proclaim them name my



ben ȧrt ȧbu

not being cessation

18.

em baḥ nebu māt ḥes-ṭen

in presence of lords of law favour ye

nutár ṭen suat'-ṭen aut-ṭen en χroṭu-ṭen emχet
god your, may transfer you dignities your to children your after

á uaḥ má t'eṭ-ṭen 19. suten ṭā ḥotep Ásár
a full old age provided that say ye Royal give oblation Osiris

mer kat em ta ḥet Rā-χeperu-ári-māt
superintendent of works in the temple of Rā-χeperu-ári-māt

men mennu em ást ḥeḥ ḥā nutár ḥen ḥetep
may abide the memorial in the seat of eternity, the prince, prophet

en Ámes Ást Neχt-Ámes neb χu
first of Ámes and Isis Neχt-Ámes, lord of fidelity.

No 2.

Lepsius Denkmäler, Ab. iii, 114 i.

1. renpit IV áboṭ IV śat hru I χer ḥen Ḥer Rā
Year four, month [ΧΟΙΑΚ] *day one of the majesty of Har Rā*

ka neχt teḥent χau . . . . . χerp peḥpeḥ
bull powerful of saffron diadems {*lord of two crowns*} *supremely mighty*

ter Sati Ḥernub ḥeq māt s-χeper taiu

destroyer of Asiatics, } *hawk golden, ruler of justice, creator of two earths,*

2. suten-net ḥeq peṭet IX neb taiu

king of the north and south, } *chief of bows nine, lord of the two earths,*

Rā-χeperu-ȧri-māt se Rā en χat-ef mer-f

Rā-χeperu-ȧri-māt son of the Sun of belly his loving him,

neb χau nutȧr ȧtf Ȧi nutȧr ḥeḳ Uast Ȧsȧr[1]

lord of diadems, Divine Father, Ȧi, god, ruler of Uast, Osiris

neb Tasert mer-i ṭā ānχ 3. suten ṭā ḥotep Ȧmen Rā

lord of Tasert, beloved, giving life. Royal give oblation. Ȧmen Rā

neb nest taiu Ptaḥ-Sekri Ȧsȧr Un-nefer

lord of thrones of the two earths Ptah Socharis Osiris Un-nefer

neb Ru-stau ṭā-sen per-χeru ȧḥ ȧpt

lord of Ru-stau may give they sepulchral meals, oxen, ducks,

menχ χa em χet nebt nefer-t ābt χa em

linen bandages } *thousands of things all good pure, thousands of*

[1] The name and prenomen are erased on the stele.

4. (sic)[1]

χet nebt net'emet beneret ṭāṭā pet qamat

things all sweet, choice gifts of heaven products of

ta ȧnen Ḥāpi em tepḥt-ef sesenet

earth [which] brings Nile from caverns his, breathings

5.

nefu net'em en meḥt ȧmt ta sam

breezes delightful of north wind of, the eating of bread, gathering

renpt seśep āatu em bu nefer em

flowers, reception of {*food / bread*} *in* {*place good / felicity*} *from*

ḥotepet ent Seχet Ȧaru usten-ȧ

the produce of Seχet-Ȧaru. May I walk

6.

ḥer uat ḥeḥ emmā kau χu śepsu

over the road eternal among genii, the spirits, the noble ones,

ȧrt χeperu er mer-ref em śesu en

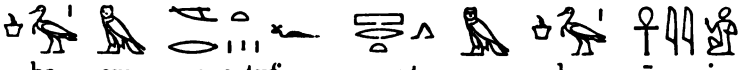
making transformations at pleasure among the servants of

7.

Un-nefer āq per-t em χar-neter ȧn χenrȧ

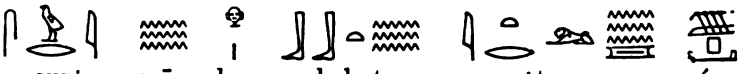
Un-nefer, going in coming out from χar-neter: may not be turned back

[1] Lepsius .



ba em mertuf pert em ba ānχ-i

soul [my] at will its coming forth like a soul alive,



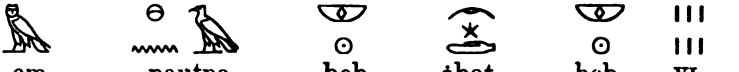
surà māu ḥer bebet àtru seśep

drinking water out of the depth of the stream, receiving

8.

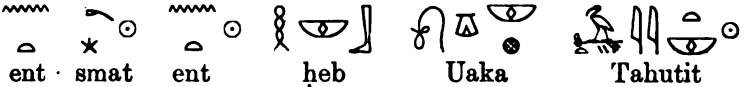
sennu en neb ḥeḥ em pert embaḥ hru neb

the cakes of the lord of eternity, coming in the presence day every,



em pautna ḥeb àboṭ ḥeb VI

on festival of the new moon, festival of the month, { *festival of the 6th day,*



ent · smat ent ḥeb Uaka Tahutit

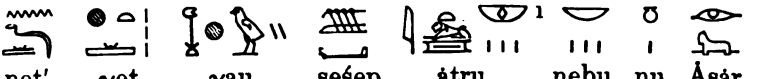
of half month, of festival of Uaka, Thoth,

(*sic*)

9.

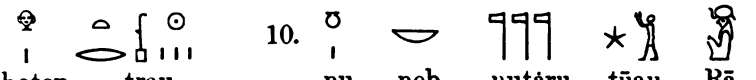
pert { Ámes / Ut'at } pert Sopet rekḥ ur rekḥ

appearance of Ámes, rising of Sothis, heat great, heat



net' χet χau seśep àtru nebu nu Àsár

small, things of the altars, the receiving of { *Nile water (festivals)* } *all of Osiris*



10.

ḥotep trau nu neb nutàru ṭūau Rā

at beginning of the seasons } *of the lord of the gods. Adoration [to] Rā*

---

[1] See the extract from the stele of Neχt-Ámes in the Berlin Museum. Brugsch, *Kalendarische Inschriften*, Abth. II, p. 238.

χeft uben - ef suaś - ef ḥotep - ef em
when shines he, worshipped be he [when] sets he in

ānχ tepá nef pert em χuṭ en āau[1] nef en
life breathing wind coming forth from horizon, full blast of

meḥt it 11. ḥer āu ṭemtu renef
north wind coming on both hands, being called name his,

ā qāḥu ḥer ḥotepet t'fau per χeru
the hand stretched out upon oblations and provisions { *sepulchral offerings*

χeft nás - ef seśep māu ḥer āā ḥen-ka
when invoked is he, recipt of water upon the hands of the ka *minister*

12. seχem-ef em-ta seχem-ef ḥeqt ḥer āb merer ka - f
acquires he bread, acquires he beer on the table pleases ka *his,*

ám - f ta ḥer χaut Neb-er-t'ra ḥer uṯḥu
eats he bread upon altar of Neb-er-t'ra, upon table

en nebu ḥeḥ 13. er-ṭātuf āri śabu āb
of lords of eternity, there are given to him aliments pure

---

[1] And see *aau mu*, "inundation." De Rouge, "Edfou," 25, 4.

em āatu ent Unnefer t'a - f māχent
in bread of Unnefer, goes along he the boat

ent χarneter er taiu nu 14. Seχet - Âaru
of χarneter to lands of Seχet-Âaru,

âp - f uat sśen - f mātennu śes - f
opens up he the roads, opens he the ways, follows he

Sekari em Ru-stau ân śenātuf 15. ḥer
Socharis in Rustau not turned back (is) he at

sba en Ṭūat baḥ âm em ârp
the door of the Tuat taking his fill there of wine and

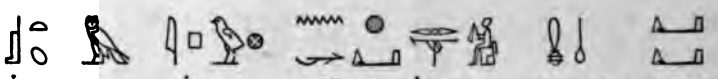
ârtet seśep mat'et urḥu stem
milk, receiving ointment, unguent, stibium,

net'em âb ḥebs 16. menχ en ka en
rejoicing heart, clothing, linen bandages, to the ka *of the*

mer ut'a en nutâru nebu em
superintendent of double store-house of the gods all in

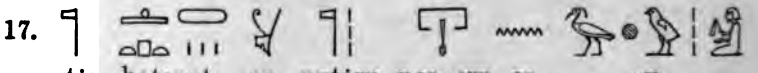
Ta - kāḥti Ámes χenti nutár ḥen ḥetep en Ámes

Takāḥti (and) Ámes of χenti prophet first of Ámes and



Ást em Ápu Neχt - Ámes māχeru ṭaṭa

Isis in Ápu: Neχt-Ámes triumphant (who) gives

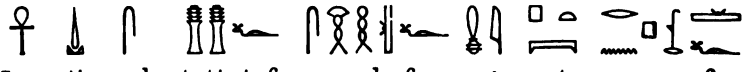
17. 

nutár ḥotepet en nutáru perχeru en χu

divine oblations to the gods, sepulchral meals to the spirits

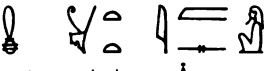
ḥer ḥetep ānχ ut'a snab suten net Rā-χeperu-ári-māt

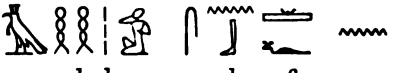
in the presence of } *A. U. S.* { *king of the north and south* } *Rā-χeperu-ári-māt*



ānχ ut'a snab ṭaṭṭuṭ-f suaḥ-f má pet renpe-f

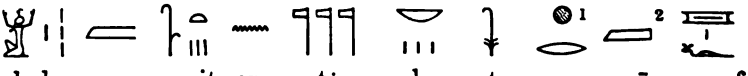
A. U. S. establishes he, makes increase he like heaven, renews he



18. 

má entet Ámes neḥeḥ snab - f en

like Ámes, praying (for) health his of



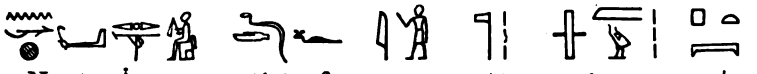
ḥeḥ em renpit en nutáru nebu suten reχ mā mer-f

millions of years to the gods all suten-reχ, actual beloved by him

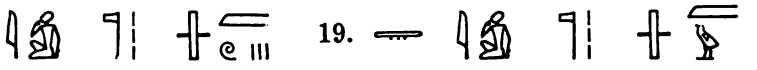
---

[1] Inversions of this kind are common. See Renouf, "Zeitschrift," 1877, p. 101.

[2] Ein wirklicher Verwandter. (Brugsch, Dict., p. 531.)

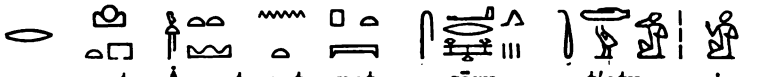


Neχt - Åmes t'eṭ - f å nutåru åmu pet
Neχt - Åmes. Says he: Hail gods who are in heaven,



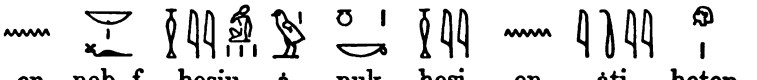
å nutåru åmu 19. ta å nutåru åmu
Hail gods who are on earth, Hail gods who are in

Ṭūåt χenniu Rā staiu nutår nefer
the Ṭūåt transporting Rā, conveying god good



er χut Åment ent pet sāru t'eṭu å
to horizon western of heaven, bringing words my

en ten 20. em spertu en baket
to you like prayers of servant



en neb-f ḥesiu - å nuk ḥeṣi en åti ḥetep
to lord his, favouring me, I am agreeable to the sovereign king

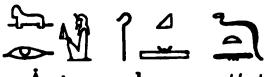
ta ṭa-f ḥotep - å em åst - å ent ḥeḥ
upon earth, may he grant that may rest I in seat my of eternity,

χnum-å .....
may join I .....

II.

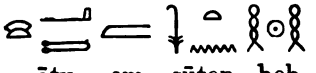
Stele of Thothmes, President of the Gate-keepers in Memphis.

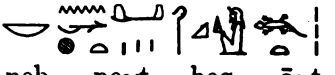
The sepulchral tablet from which the following text[1] is taken bears the number 155 in the British Museum collection. The top of the tablet is rounded; the figures are coloured red, the background of the stele is black, and the hieroglyphs are blue. Dr. Birch considers that the tablet belongs to the XVIIIth dynasty. It consists of a rectangular piece of soft calcareous stone, 3 ft. 11½ in. long, 2 ft. 3 in. wide, and 5¾ in. thick; the top has been rounded to the depth of one inch, and the square corners behind still remain. The beginnings and endings of a few of the lines are broken away, and there are a few abrasions on the surface of the tablet. The scene at the top of the tablet represents adorations to Osiris, who is seated on a throne facing to the right, wearing the *atf* crown. In his left hand he holds the symbol of power *ḥeḳ*, and in his right the whip *χu*. His name and titles are given before and behind him, in four lines of hieroglyphics, which read:—

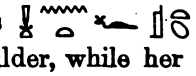
1. 
Âsâr ḥeq t'et
Osiris, ruler eternal,

2.

neb Âukart
lord of Âukart

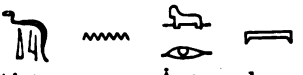
3. 
χāṭu em sūten ḥeḥ
diademed as king of eternity,

4. 
neb neχt ḥeq āχt
lord of might, ruler of millions.

Behind Osiris stands his sister Isis  *sent-f Âst*, raising her right hand to the shoulder, while her left is placed by the arm of the god. She wears a throne upon her head. Before the gods stands a table, *χau*, laden with oval

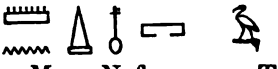
[1] A copy of the tablet has been lithographed by Sharpe in his "Egyptian Inscriptions," Vol. I, pl. 105.

and circular cakes of bread, a bunch of lotus flowers and buds, a goose, the head and haunch of a calf or ox, and some fruit. Beneath the table are two vessels, each entwined with a lotus flower. Above the table are seven lines of hieroglyphics, which read:—

5. 
t'eṭ an Âsâr ḥer

6.
sauti en sba em

Said by Osiris presiding over the guardians of the gate in

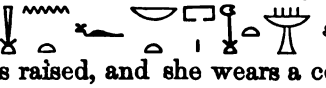
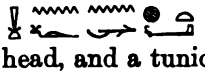
7. 
Men-Nefer
Memphis,

8.
Tahuti-mes māχeru t'eṭ-ef
Thothmes, triumphant. Says he

9.
entek Rā χeper t'es-
Thou art Rā creating himself,

10.
f ruuâ-f
traverses he

11.
ta neb
earth all.

Before the table stands Thothmes, wearing his hair plaited. Upon his head is a cone,[1] and he is dressed in a garment reaching to his ankles. Both hands are raised in adoration to Osiris. Behind him stands "his sister, lady of the house of the altar." 12.  *sent-f nebt pa χat.* Her left hand is raised, and she wears a cone upon her head. Behind the sister stands Neχt the brother of Thothmes. 13.  *sen-f Neχt.* He also wears a cone upon his head, and a tunic round his body.

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[1] *See* Birch, "Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch." Vol. VIII, p. 147. Mr. Rylands has a collection of drawings of cones from the monuments of all periods; it is much to be wished that he would publish his account and his careful drawings of this subject, which he has specially studied.

To the left of the tablet at the bottom is a small square vignette, in which is portrayed a scene of family worship. Seated upon a chair is *sab t'i*, "councillor T'i," wearing a cone, and holding a lotus flower in his left hand. By his side is seated "his sister, lady of the house of Âmen," also wearing a cone. She has taken hold of his right arm with her right hand. In front of the deceased "his son Neχt," holding and ou praised hands a cone.

The inscription deceased Thothmes was "president of the gate in Memphis"; and it is interesting as names of three of the pylons in Abydos , Âāu-ḥer-neb-es, and Uben-Rā-maa-es. , in common with other nations, gave names to the gates and doors of their cities and temples. See Mariette, "Abydos," Vol. I, p. 13, where the names of the doors of a series of rooms are given.

Translation.

1. May Horus of the double horizon, Un-Nefer Ptah Socharis Osiris the eternal ruler, give a royal oblation; may they give glory, power and good name as triumphant to the *ka* of
2. the president of the guardians of the gate in Memphis. Grant thou that I may sit in Heliopolis joining thy servants the priests and prophets. May white bread be
3. furnished to thee, may thy pure hands be in the hall of gold, placing thyself upon thy belly before the lords of eternity Tmu and Sapu, the spirits of Heliopolis,
4. who listen during thy prayers; let devotion be ordered for thee, may the Âmmaḥet open its gates to thee, may the doors greet thee,
5. may thy name be established from mouth to mouth among all the gods, may they proclaim thy glories before Shu

6. in the horizon, of the *ka* of Thothmes, the president of the guardians. Mayest thou tread in the hall of Nut, mayest thou traverse the hall of Seb,
7. mayest thou be saluted in the hall of Māt by things from behind thee, may there be said to thee in the presence of the spirits of Heliopolis, O coming in peace, O triumphant one! Thy life comes
8. to thee as one being upon earth in following "Ptah of the beautiful face," thou the *ka* of Thothmes, the president of the guardians. May the priests, possessors of persea trees, come to thee at the staircase with
9. garlands in the first month of summer, at the end of the month when the ut'at is
10. full. Thou art invoked in Heliopolis, answer thou in Ru-stau on the third day of the third month of summer. Thou sailest thy soul [with thee to] Abydos. May he have a broad seat in the
11. bark, may he follow the god to the territory of Pekua in the festival of Uaka and the festival of
12. Thoth. Let the festival of Hekar of his lord be made for him at the appearance of
13. Âp-uat, may he praise Rā when he rises and turns his radiance to the three pylons which are in
14 Abydos: Ḥapt-neb-es,[1] Âāu-ḥer-neb-es,[2] and Uben-Rā-maa-es.[3]
15. Let sacred visits be made to thee and sacrificial cakes daily. He is invoked
16. at the altar in Aat-tes-tes on the birthday of Isis, and when he goes there on the holiday
17. of Socharis, the day of placing the sacred boat upon the stocks,[4] he the *ka* of Thothmes triumphant.

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[1] "She who conceals her lord."

[2] "She whose two arms are towards her lord."

[3] The sun-god rises to see her."

[4] *See* Book of the Dead, ch. i, 10: "I am the high priest who places the boat upon the stocks."

1. suten ṭa ḥotep Ḥer χuti Un-nefer
Royal give oblation Horus of double horizon, Un-nefer,

Ptaḥ Sekar Åsár ḥeq t'eṭ ṭā-sen χu
Ptah Socharis Osiris, ruler eternal, may give they glory

ḥnā usr ren-å nefer em māχeru en
and power, name good as triumphant to the

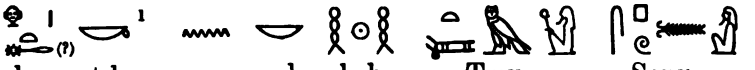
ka en 2. ḥer sauti en sba em
genius of the president of the guardians of the gate in

Men-nefer Tahuti-mes ári-k ḥems-å em
Memphis Thothmes. Do thou (that) sit I

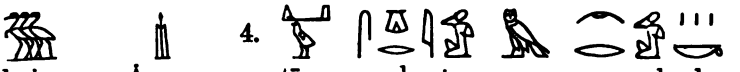
χen-ā Ånnu χenemes-nek āb
within Heliopolis associating (?) for thee priests,

nutár-ḥen uśentu-nek 3. ta ḥat'
prophets, let there be furnished to thee bread white

āā-k āb em useχt ent smu ṭā-k-tu
hands thy pure in the hall of gold placed



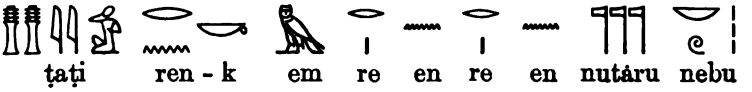
ḥer χat-k en neb ḥeḥ Tmu Sapu
upon belly thy to the lord of eternity Tmu (and) Sapu



baiu Ànnu 4. ṭā-u sḳerá em speru-k k
the spirits of Heliopolis who give silence during prayers thy,

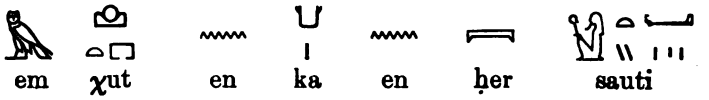
utu nek àmaχu unna - nek Àmmaḥet
be ordered for thee devotion, may open to thee the Ámmaḥet

sbau - s uśeṭu - k 5. urit
gates its, may { await / greet } [thee] the doors, may

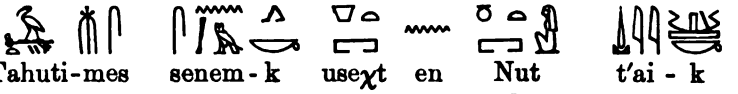


ṭaṭi ren - k em re en re en nutâru nebu
be established name thy in mouth of mouth of gods all,

seχa - sen neferu - ek em - baḥ Shu .....
may proclaim they glories thy before Shu .....



6. em χut en ka en ḥer sauti
in the horizon, to the genius of the president of the guardians,



Tahuti-mes senem - k useχt en Nut t'ai - k
Thothmes, mayest tread thou the hall of Nut, may traverse [thou

---

[1] The tablet is broken here, but these appear to be the characters.

7. useχt Seb, uśeṭtu - k em useχt māt
the hall of Seb, may be saluted thou in the hall of Māt

ȧn χet ḥa - k t'eṭtu-nek i - ṭȧ em
by things behind thee, let [illegible] to thee "coming in

ḥotep māχeru - k χer baiu Ȧnnu peḥ
peace triumphant thou" {in presence of the} spirits of Heliopolis, arrives

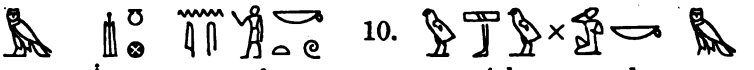
8. āḥā - k em un ḥtep ta ḥer śes Ptaḥ
life thy as one being upon earth in following of "Ptah

nefer ḥra en ka en ḥer sauti
of the beautiful face," } to the qa of president of the guardians,

(sic)
Tahuti - mes per nek ur - mau ḥer āb χet χer
Thothmes. May come to thee the priests at the staircase with

9. ānχ nebu ȧśṭ em ȧboṭ I pert
garlands, lords { of the persea tree } in the month 1 { of summer (ꟻꟻꟻꟻ)

ārḳi hru meḥ ut'at
at the end of the month, the day (when) is full the ut'at

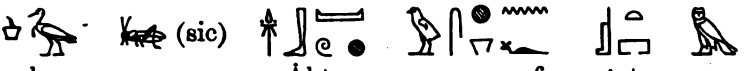


em Ânnu nâsektu 10. uśebu - k em

in Heliopolis, invoked art thou answer thou in

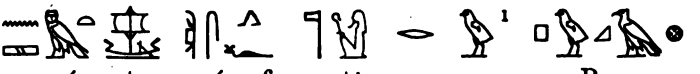
Ru-stau em âboṭ III pert hru III χentu - k

Rustau, in month 3 {*of summer* (ⲫⲁⲙⲉⲛⲱⲑ)} [*day*] *three, sailest thou*



ba ..... (sic) Âbṭu usеχ - nef âst em

soul ..... *Abydos, may be broad to him a seat in*

11. 

neśemet śesef nutâr er u[1] Pequa

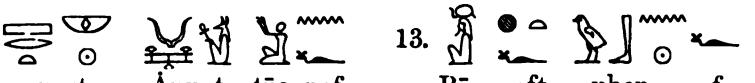
the bark follows he the god to the territory of Pekua

em ḥeb Uaka ḥeb 12. Tahutit

in the festival of Uaka, festival of Thoth,

âu âri - nef hekar en neb - f

let there be made to him festival of Hekar of lord his,



pert Âpuat ṭūa-nef 13. Rā χeft uben - f

appearance of Âpuat, praises he Rā when {*shines / rises*} *he,*

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[1] Brugsch, Wörterbuch, I, 239.

[1]

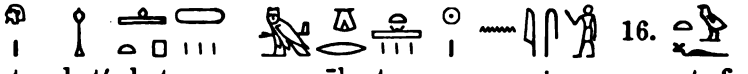
ṭa - nef pest - f er ta III sebeχt ȧmu
gives he back his to the three pylons which are in

14.

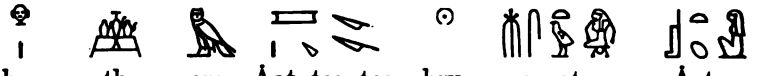
Ȧbṭu ḥapt - neb - es Āāu - s-ḥer-neb-s
Abydos, Ḥapt - Neb-es, Āāus - ḥer - nebs,

15.

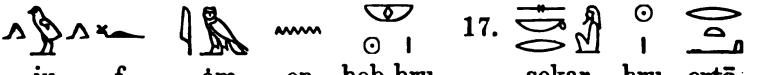
Uben - Rā maa-s ȧri - nek ennu śta
Uben-Rā-maa-s, let be made to thee sacred visits


16.

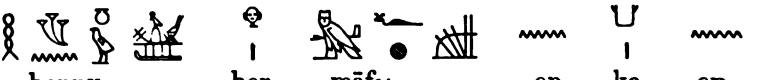
ḥetep ḥat' ḥotepu mākart nȧs - tuf
daily sacrificial cakes daily invoked is he



ḥer utḥu em Ȧat-ṭes-ṭes hru mesṭu Ȧst
at the altar in Ȧat-ṭes-ṭes day of birth of Isis,


17.

iu - f ȧm en ḥeb hru sekar hru ertā
goes he on the holiday of Sekar day of placing



ḥennu ḥer māfχ en ka en
the ship upon the stocks to the genius of

Tahuti - mes māχeru
Thothmes triumphant.

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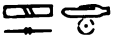
[1] It is doubtful if the right determinative is used here. One would expect  "radiance."

III.

Stele of Remā, of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1]

This tablet is divided into three parts. In the first is Osiris wearing the *atf* crown, and seated upon a stool. He holds in his hands two sceptres and a whip. Above is written "Osiris, everlasting ruler, god great, lord of Tasert in front of the seat." Behind him stands Isis, wearing a throne upon her head; she has her right hand lifted, and holds in the other the symbol of life. Above, and in front of her, is written "Isis, mother divine, avenging her brother, lady of the two earths." Behind her stands Nephthys, wearing a house upon her head; she has her right hand raised, and in the left she carries the symbol of life. By her side is written "Nephthys, empress of the road of the west." Before Osiris stands a table laden with foods, fruits, and flowers. Above it are the signs the two *ut'ats*, and a jackal. At the table stands the deceased Remā, with both hands raised, in one of which he holds a stand filled with fruit and cakes. Around his neck he wears a collar; he wears a fluted garment tied at the waist, and sandals upon his feet. He is represented without hair. Above him is written "May he give thee going in and coming out from *χar neter* at the burial . . . . . to the *ka* of the chief of the . . . . . Remā triumphant." Behind Remā stands "his sisters beloved by him of the seat of his heart,

[1] A facsimile of this stele is given by Mariette in his "Abydos," Vol. II, pl. 63, and a printed copy of the text in his "Catalogue Générale des Monuments d'Abydos," p. 413.

lady of the house, *Suten χat.*" She wears a head-dress of plaited hair, a cone and collar, and she has both hands upraised. The daughter of the deceased, Ṭapu is represented standing holding lotus flowers; and behind her, holding a lotus flower in the left hand, and wearing a cone upon her head, stands (sic) "his grand-daughter [illegible]." [illegible]e second part of the tablet Remā and his sister, "the lady of the house, *Suten χat,*" are represented seated on chairs. [illegible]nā is holding a lotus flower in his left hand, and his sister is [illegible]asping his right arm with both her hands. Before them [illegible]ands Remā's son, Apii or Ȧpepi, offering fire, water, and the usual offerings. He wears a panther's skin. By his side are three lines of hieroglyphs, which read (?) or , "Oblation of all good and pure things to the *ka* of Remā, the chief of the unguent room, by his son Ȧpii, or Apepi, the chief of those who listen to complaints." The remainder of the scene is occupied by—

1. A male called Rāmes holding a branch with leaves and flowers.
2. A female " Mutemua, holding a small branch.
3. " " Ȧui, holding a lotus flower.
4. " " Ḥer-ȧb-ȧpu, with both hands raised.
5. " " Nefert-i-nutȧr Śu.
6. A female whose name is omitted.
7. A female called Suten-χa
8. A child "his son, Ȧmen-Ua."

The two males, Âpepi and Rāmes, wear neither hair nor head-dress, but the females all wear head-dresses and cones.

The lower part of the tablet is filled up by nineteen lines of hieroglyphs, containing an invocation to Osiris. In the right hand corner is a vignette representing Remā kneeling in adoration, with both hands upraised. The inscription is really a hymn to Osiris, and all we gather from it about the deceased personally is, that he was "president or chief of the unguent preparations of the double white house of the lord of the two earths," and "chief of the royal wig of the good god." In all these sepulchral stelæ the deceased is made to pray principally for things material. The comforts of the body in the nether world are thought much of, and the gods are therefore entreated to grant them to the *ka*[1] of the deceased. The translation of the stele of Remā is as follows:—

1. Adoration of Osiris. Hail to thee Osiris, the firstborn of Seb, the eldest god of
2. five[2] coming forth from Nut, the senior, the eldest son of his father Rā, the father of fathers,
3. in submission to him, everlasting ruler, lord of eternity, one throughout his changes, the prevailer with might coming forth
4. from the womb. He unites the white and red crown, and joins the uræi on his head, he, the one of exalted attributes;
5. his name is unknown, numerous are his names in towns and countries. Rā rises,
6. in the place of his heart[3] he setteth, and one seeth his glories. Hail to thee O magnified and
7. extolled in thy name "Great of Strength." O son, O great one coming out of his cavern,

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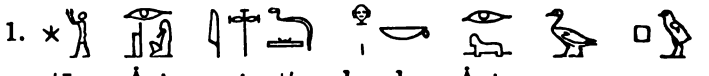
[1] See Birch, "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. VIII, p. 149, and Renouf, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 494; Maspero, *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 6, and "Revue Scientifique," March, 1879, p. 816.

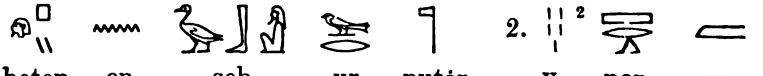
[2] The five gods were Horus, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Set.

[3] Lit., "in the heaven of his heart."

8. there is not a god who has done what he has done, he, the lord of life, living in his attributes. Nothing is made living without
9. him, the lord of life, vigorous in revolving, Osiris in Abydos, lord of Tattu, ruler
10. of Amenti, the lofty plumed. He reaches the zenith, the two dawn goddesses who are before him
11. and the venerable souls who are in the *tuat* adore this form of the lords of Abydos. Rā hath created
12. his glories, Shu hath put his terror in the hearts of men,
13. gods, the departed, and the damned. Saith the chief of the *sekanenu* of the double white house of the lord of the two earths,[1] the chief of the royal wig
14. of the good god; saith Remā triumphant, I have come to thee, lord of Tasert Osiris, ruler of Abydos.
15. I was law abiding and doing right when upon earth, I was free from faults. Grant thou splendour
16. in heaven and power upon earth. May I triumph like
17. the lords of the Tuat, may my soul come forth to direct its path,
18. in the place of its desire. May I be
19. like the gods who are in thy train, I the *ka* of Osiris, Rema triumphant.

1. 

ṭūau	Åsår	ånet'	ḥer-k	Åsår	se	pu
Adoration of Osiris,		*Hail*	*to thee*	*Osiris*	*son*	*the*

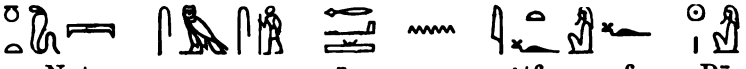


ḥetep	en	seb	ur	nutår	v	per	em
first	*of*	*Seb,*	*eldest*	*god of*	*five*	*coming*	*from*

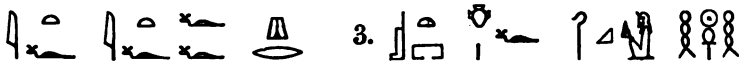
---

[1] Vorsteher der Salbenbereitungen des weissen Hauses des Landesherrn. Brugsch Dict., p. 1144.

[2] The plate in "Abydos," II, 63, has |||||| .

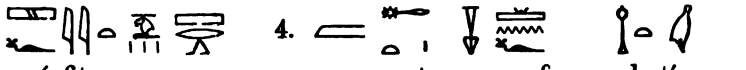


Nut semsu āa en ȧtf - f Rā
Nut, eldest senior of father his Rā

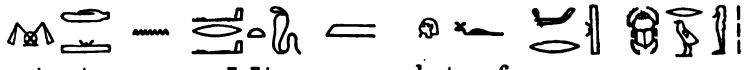


ȧtf ȧtfiu χer 3. ȧst ȧb - f ḥeq ḥeḥ
father of fathers, under the place of face, his ruler everlasting,

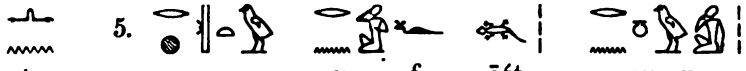
neb t'et uā ḥer sepu-f seχem
lord of eternity, one throughout changes his, prevailing with



śefit per em 4. χat sam-nef ḥat'
might coming forth from the womb. Unites he the white crown



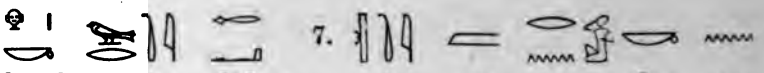
ṭemṭ en ārāt em ḥetep-f ser χeperu
joins the uræi on head his, exalted of attributes.



ȧn 5. reχ ren - f āśt rennu
Not known name his, numerous the names

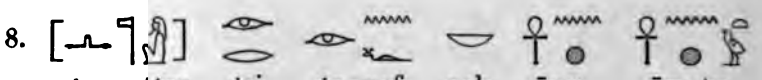
em nut setu uben Rā 6. em pet
in towns and countries: rises Rā in heaven

en ȧb - f ḥotep - f maa - f neferu· ȧnet'
of heart his, setteth he and sees one glories. Hail

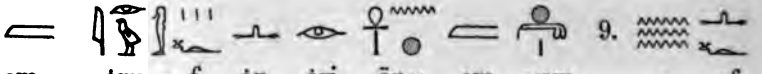


ḥer-k urṭá āaā - ṭa em ren - k en
to the magnified, extolled in name thy

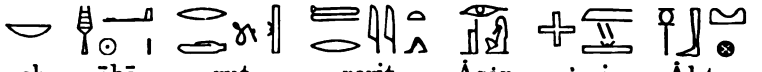
āaā śefit se ur per em tepḥt - f
"great of strength" son great, coming out from cavern his.

8. 

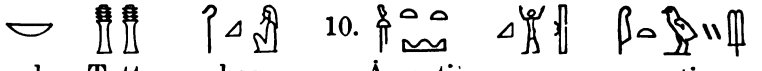
án nutáru ári ár - nef neb ānχ ānχtu
Not a god has done (what) he has done, lord of life, living



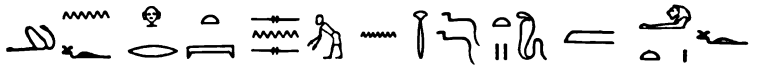
em áru - f án ári ānχ em χem - ef
in attributes his, nought is made living without him,



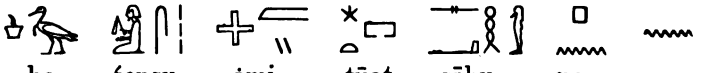
neb āḥā ruṭ rerit Ásár ámi Ábṭu
lord of life, vigorous in revolving, Osiris in Abydos



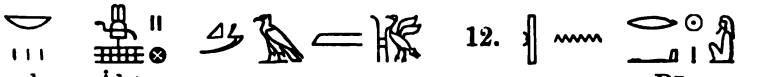
neb Ṭaṭṭu ḥeq Ámenti qa suti
lord of Tattu, ruler of Amenti: exalted of plumes:



peḥ-nef ḥert sens en ūat'ti em ḥat - f
reaches he the zenith, adore the two dawn goddesses before him,

11. 

ba śepsu ámi ṭūat sāḥu pen en
souls venerable in the tūat form this of



nebu Åbṭu qamam 12. en Rā

lords of Abydos, (whom) hath created Rā

neferu-f ertā en Shu sentu - f em

glories his: has given Shu terror his in the

åb ret 13. nutåru χu mitu t'eṭ

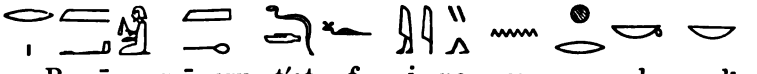
heart of men, gods, the departed and the damned Saith

ån ḥer seḳanenu en pa-ḥat' neb

the chief of the sekanenu *of the double white house of lord of*

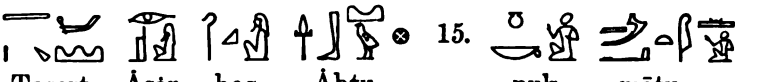
taiu mer nammes suten 14. en nutår nefer

two earths, chief of the wig royal of god good,



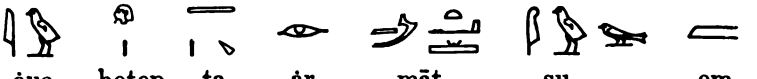
Remā māχeru t'eṭ - f i-na en χer - ek neb

Remā triumphant: says he Come have I to the lord of



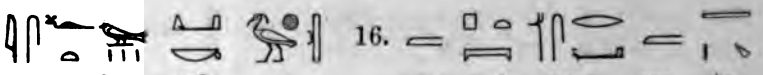
Tasert Åsår ḥeq Åbṭu 15. nuk mātu

Tasert, Osiris ruler of Abydos. I was law abiding

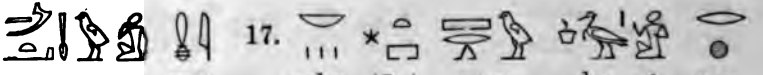


åua ḥetep ta år māt su em

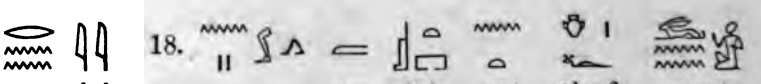
being upon earth, doing right, free from



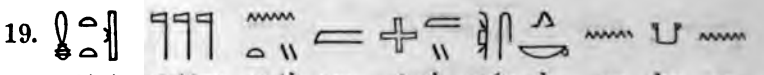
16. âseft ṭāk χu em pet user em ta
faults, grant thou splendour in heaven power on earth.



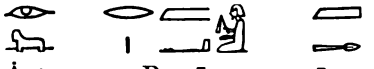
17. māχeru-â mâ nebu ṭūat peru ba-â reχ
May triumph I like lords of Ṭūat, *may come forth soul my*



18. er nenini em âst ent âb-f unnâ
to drive [*make progress*] *in the place of heart its, may be I*



19. mâtet nutâru enti em âmi seśu-k en ka en
like the gods who (are) in train thy, to the genius of



Âsâr Remā māχeru
Osiris Remā triumphant.

IV.

Sepulchral Stele of the Royal Scribe Âmes-mes, otherwise called Kanre.[1]

This tablet is preserved in the Museum of the Louvre, and belongs to the reign of Rameses II. It is rounded at the top, and its upper part is occupied by two scenes, the one representing the worship of Osiris, and the other that of ancestors. In the first scene at the top are the signs

[1] A copy of the tablet has been lithographed by Sharpe in his "Egyptian Inscriptions," pl. 97; and a better copy, with a translation, by Pierret in his "Études Égyptologiques," 8me livraison, p. 135.

☉, ≋ and ▽, representing the sun's disk, water, and vase respectively. On each side is an *ut'at* 𓂀, as well as a jackal. Underneath there is a cartouche containing the prenomen, name, and titles of Rameses II. It reads:—

suten net neb taiu Rā-usr-māt-śotep-en-Rā
King of the north and south, lord of two lands, Rā-usr-māt-śotep-en-Rā

se Rā neb χau meri māt Rā-mes-su Åsár
son of the Sun lord of crowns, Rameses loving law, Osiris

χent-Åmenti neb Åbṭu meri
χent-Åmenti lord of Abydos beloved of.

Below this Osiris, holding a sceptre in the right hand and a whip in the left, is seated upon a stool. Behind him stands "Horus the son of Isis," wearing the double crown. His right hand is raised, and in his left he carries a roll. Behind Horus stands Isis, "the lady of heaven," wearing a throne upon her head, and Nephthys, wearing a house. On a slab behind Nephthys stands "Ptaḥ as king of the double earth" 𓁢 𓁹 𓁷 𓁶 𓁸 𓁺 𓁻, holding in his two hands a sceptre. Behind Ptah stands "Thoth, lord of χemennu" 𓁼 𓁽 𓁾. In front of Osiris is a small altar and a lotus flower. With both hands raised in adoration to the god, stands 𓁿 𓂀 𓂁 𓂂 𓂃 𓂄 𓂅 𓂆 𓂇 𓂈 𓂉 𓂊 𓂋 𓂌 𓂍 𓂎 𓂏 Royal scribe Kanre of the {place / seat} of law, son of Kanrenerâa triumphant. In the second scene the son of Kanre (apparently called Kanre also) is represented, standing bare-headed and bald, wearing a tunic tied at the waist. Both hands are

extended, and he offers incense and water to the deceased Âmes-mes, who is seated on a chair holding a lotus flower in his left hand. Before him is a slab containing sacrificial offerings.

Behind Âmes-mes is seated his mother Ânenît, his father, and five other relatives, all seated on chairs, holding a lotus flower in their left hands.[1] The deceased Âmes-mes was a royal scribe, and member of the privy council of his king. He was the son of Ânenît, "the sistrum bearer of Isis," and he takes great care to inform us that he was an actual scribe, and not a man who called himself one. He apparenty had the charge of the accounts of the chapels, he was the reckoner of the labours performed there, and also the superintendent of the work wrought by the priestesses of Neith. The translation of the tablet is as follows:—

1. Âmes-mes, triumphant, surnamed Kanre, royal scribe, president of the mysteries of heaven and earth and hell, maker of all divine types, actual scribe of the seat of justice, son of Ânenît, triumphant, the sistrum bearer of Isis.
2. ..... eternity is thy brother and sister, thy uncle is everlastingness; they furnish winds to thy nose, inspiring thy throat with life. May thy hand be fortunate with sacrifices and provisions every day without ceasing.
3. O Âmes-mes, triumphant, surnamed Kanre, royal scribe in the southern and northern chapels, computer of the labours, superintendent of the things which are done in the two chapels under the direction of the priestesses of Neith. O my lord,
4. traversing eternity, enduring for ever, Osiris, χent-Âmenti, Horus triumphant, lord of eternity, everlasting ruler, eldest son whom Seb hath engendered, first born of the womb of Nut, lord of Tattu, ruler of Abydos,

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[1] I am indebted to the amiable courtesy of Monsieur P. Pierret for a correct copy of certain parts of the inscription contained in the first scene, which it was impossible to make out from that given by Sharpe.

5. sovereign lord, supreme chief of Åkarti, lord of diadems, great of terrors, exalted Ram dwelling in Naret, the powerful king, relying upon justice, greater than his father, more powerful than his mother, the lord of that which
6. becometh through him, greatest of the great above his brethren, son of the white crown, born of the red crown, lord of lords, king of kings, chief supreme, god of gods, the two lands have been given to thee by the hand of the father Tmu.
7. Thou hast law established before thy face, let me rejoice in the law and its glories. It is Thoth who gives it to its possessor, he proclaimed it by the proclamations of his mouth, those who are . . . . . .
8. among gods and men, thou makest their seat in χar-neter, those who come towards thee arriving at the landing place by millions of millions greet thee, those who are in the womb are upon their face towards thee.
9. Mayest thou have no stoppage in the land of inundation, they come to thee altogether, the great like the small come to thee there, the living ones upon earth approach thee altogether,
10. thou art their lord, there is none other whatever besides thee whom they can enumerate. With reference to the going up or the coming down throughout the duration of time, thy majesty, like Rā, is the dawn of day.
11. Those that exist, and those who are not yet, follow thee, O royal scribe, interpreter of the lord of the two earths, president of the secret in the temple of Neith, made of
12. flesh (*i.e.*, born) of Ta-ānχ[1] at Sais, Åmes-mes triumphant, surnamed Kanre, son of Ånenīt triumphant, sistrum bearer of Isis. May Osiris give a royal oblation, may he give pleasant breezes of the north wind to the *ka* of the royal Åmes-mes triumphant, president of the secret in the seat of law.

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[1] The text here is obscure; M. Pierret renders it by "fait en chair (nê) à Ta-anχ," which rendering I have borrowed.

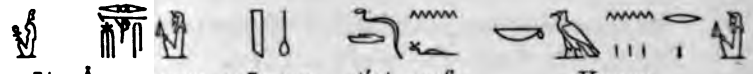
1.

suten ān ḥer sśta en pet ta ṭūat

***Royal scribe**, president of the mysteries of heaven, earth and hell:*

mes semu nutâru nebu ān mā en âst

fabricating types divine all, scribe actual of the seat of

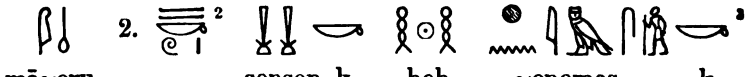


māt Âmes-mes māχeru t'eṭ-nef Kanre

*justice, **Âmes**-mes triumphant, called Kanre,*

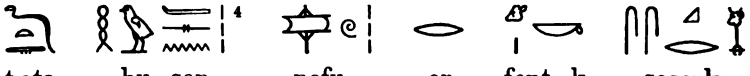
māχeru mes en âhi en Âst Ânenīt

triumphant, born of the sistrum bearer of Isis, Ânenīt



māχeru .... sensen-k ḥeḥ χenemes - k

triumphant. .... brother and sister thy (is) eternity, uncle thy



teṭa ḥu-sen nefu er fent-k seserk

(is) everlastingness, furnish they winds to nose thy inspiring (with)

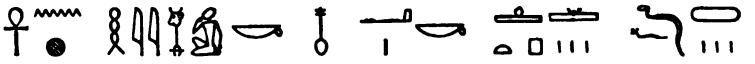
---

[1] Compare the German "wirklich" prefixed to titles of honour, *e.g.*, "wirkliche Geheimrath."

[2] There is evidently a mistake here.

[3] Read .

[4] If is a noun here, a verb has been omitted before it.

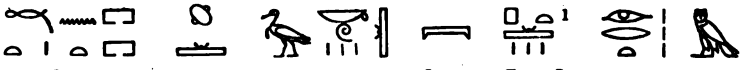


ānχ ḥai - k nefer ā - k ḥotepu t'efau

life throat thy, good be hand thy (with) sacrifices and provisions

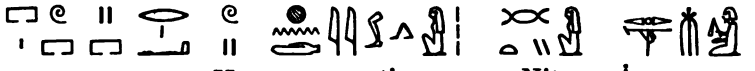
hru neb án ábu suten ān 3. em resenet

day every without ceasing, royal scribe in the southern and



meḥenet ḥesb bekau ḥer [χet] áritu em

northern chapels, } computer of the labours { superintendent of things } which are made in



pau II re - āāu χentiu Nit Ámes-mes

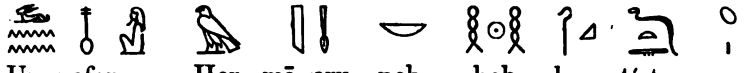
chapels two under direction of the priestesses of Neith, Ámes-mes,

māχeru t'eṭ - nef Kanre māχeru á neb - á

triumphant, called Kanre, triumphant. O lord my

4. mest ḥeḥ untef en t'et Ásár χent Ámenti

traversing eternity being for ever Osiris χent-Ámenti

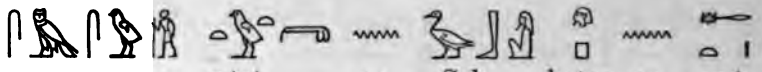


Un-nefer Ḥer māχeru neb ḥeḥ ḥeq t'eta se

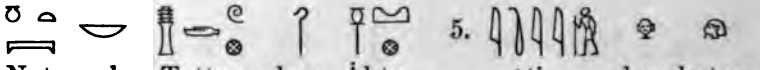
Un-nefer, Horus triumphant, lord of eternity, ruler everlasting, son

---

[1] Lisez (things), Pierret.

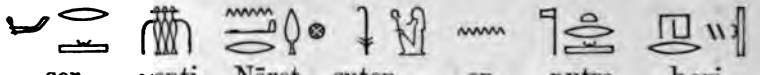


semsu utet en Seb ḥetep en χat
eldest engendered by Seb, first of the womb of

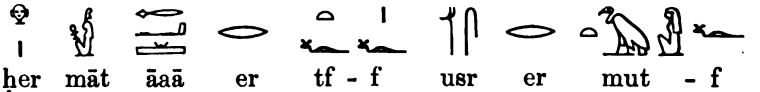


Nut neb Ṭaṭṭu ḥeq Ȧbṭu 5. ȧti ḥer ḥetep
Nut, lord of Taṭṭu, ruler of Abydos, sovereign lord, { *supreme chief of*

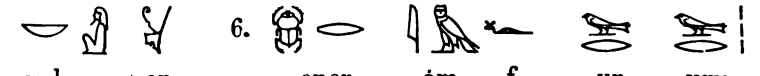
Ȧkarti neb fau āaā neru ba
Ȧkarti, lord of diadems, great of terrors, ram



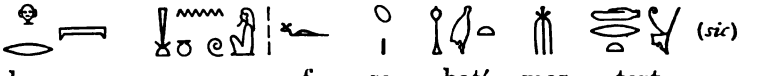
ser χenti Nāret suten en nutra heri
exalted, dwelling in Nāret, king powerful relying



ḥer māt āaā er tf - f usr er mut - f
upon justice, greater than father his, more powerful than mother his,



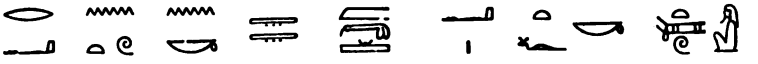
neb en 6. χeper ȧm - f ur uru
lord of that which becometh through him, great of the great



(*sic*)

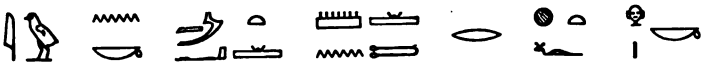
ḥer sennu - f se ḥat′ mes ṭert
above brethren, his son of white crown, born of the red crown

neb nebu ḥeq ḥequ ȧti nutȧr nutȧru
lord of lords, king of kings, chief supreme, god of gods,



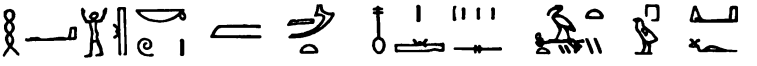
ertā entu nek taiu em-baḥ ā tf - k Tmu

have been given to thee two lands by the hand of father thy Tmu,

7. 

åu nek māt men-ta er χeft ḥer-k

there is to thee law established before face thy,

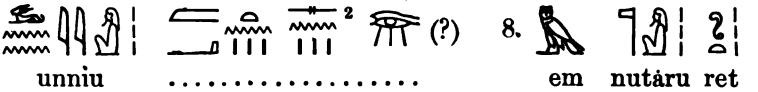


ḥā - kua em māt neferu- s Tahuti pu ṭā - f

let rejoice me in law (and) glories its, Thoth it is gives he

su en neb - s sχutu - f em χu re - f

it to lord its, proclaimed he [it] by the proclamations of mouth his



unniu ..... em nutåru ret

those who are ..... among gods and men,

åri - k åst - sen χent χar-neter senåmḥu - sen

makest thou seat their in the nether world, greet they

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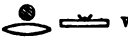
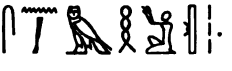
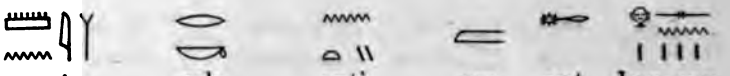
[1] This refers to the Ritual addresses made to the dead, and which were all supposed to proceed from Thoth.

[2] This passage is evidently corrupt. Pierret reads  which makes the passage no easier.

[3] Read  .

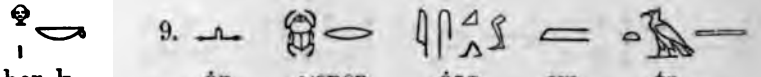
en ka-k enti iu em ḥeḥ en ḥeḥ peḥu

genius thy, these who come by millions of millions arriving



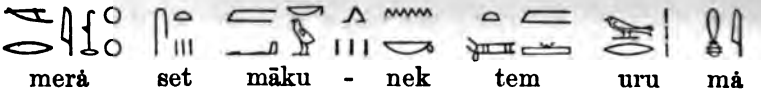
menà rek enti em χat ḥer-sen

at the landing place } *towards thee, those who are* { *in the womb [upon]* } *face their*



ḥer-k 9. àn χeper àsq em ta

towards thee, not let there be stoppage in the land of

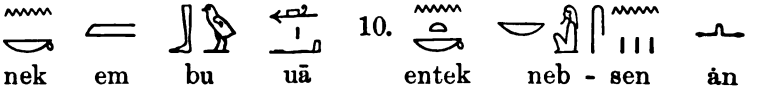


merà set māku - nek tem uru mà

inundation, they are coming to thee entirely great like

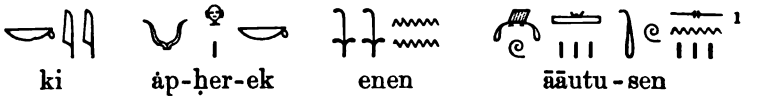
ketet - sen nek àm ānχu ḥtep ta sper sen

young their to thee there, living ones upon earth, approach they



nek em bu uā 10. entek neb - sen àn

to thee in place one, thou art lord their not



ki àp-ḥer-ek enen āāutu-sen [1]

other beside thee entirely, enumerated they

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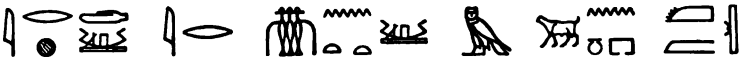
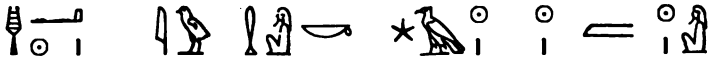
[1] See also Sharpe, I, 1, 5; I, 1, 7; I, 10, 11.



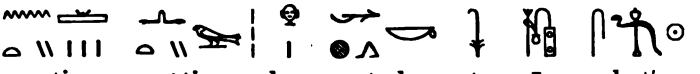
ár χet ár χentet em χennu kem

the going up and the coming down within the extent of the



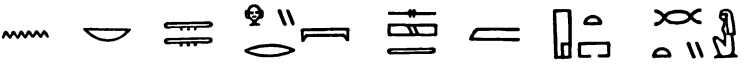
āḥā áu ḥen - k ṭūau hru em Rā

duration of life (thy). Is majesty thy the dawn of day like Rā,

11. 

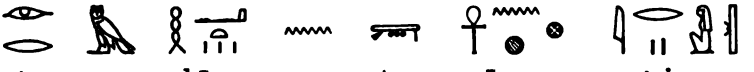
entiu átiu ḥer χet-k suten ān sḥet'

those who are (and) } *who are not following thee royal scribe, interpreter*



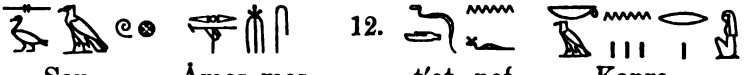
en neb taiu ḥeri seśta em ḥet Nit

of the lord of { *the two earths,* } *president of the secret in the temple Neith*



ár em ḫāu en ta ānχ ári

made of limbs of land of life which are in



Sau Ámes-mes 12. t'eṭ-nef Kanre

Sais, Ámes-mes, surnamed Kanre

mes en Áhi en Ást Ánenīt māχeru

born of sistrum bearer of Isis Ánenīt triumphant.

suten ṭā ḥotep Ȧsár ṭā-f nefu net'em en

Royal give oblation Osiris, may give he winds pleasant of the

meḥt en ka en suten ān ḥer sśta

north wind to the genius of royal scribe president of the mysteries

em ȧst māt Ȧmes-mes māχeru

in the seat of justice Ȧmes-mes triumphant.

BABYLONIAN ART, ILLUSTRATED BY MR. H. RASSAM'S LATEST DISCOVERIES.

By Theo. G. Pinches.

Read 6th November, 1883.

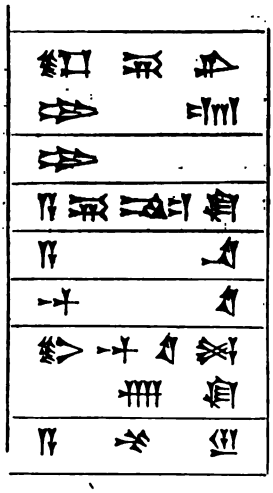
Though Babylonia has yielded as yet but very few monuments of large size, such as have been found in the various sites of Assyria, yet their artistic taste and knowledge has been fully vindicated by the discovery of small objects of great artistic merit. The question, of course, would naturally arise, whether the objects of art brought from Babylonia were really, in all cases, of Babylonian workmanship or not.

Of course there have been found, at various times, objects of art in Babylonia—cylinder-seals and cones, fragments of sculptured images and small bas-reliefs, as well as boundary-stones—sometimes with the image of a king, sometimes with those well-known figures and emblems supposed to be the originals of our signs of the zodiac. Lately also have come those beautiful sculptures from Tel-lo, and not less important things have been found by Mr. Rassam at Abu-habbah or Sippara, as well as at various other sites in that most interesting country.

Before proceeding to my remarks upon the art of the Babylonians, its origin, its growth, and how it was influenced, I will here give a short description of the most interesting and valuable objects, either from an archæological or an artistic point of view, which Mr. Rassam has obtained from the ruined cities of that great empire.

As is now well known, the highest date that we have in Babylonian history is that of the reign of Sargon of Agade, which is, according to Nabonidus, whose account of that early king I had the pleasure of bringing to your notice a

year ago, three thousand two hundred years before his time. Of course it was only natural to suppose that the cylinders of Sargon, having been found, and again restored to their ancient places by Nabonidus, should still be there. These, however, have not yet been found, but Mr. Rassam has had the good fortune to light upon a small egg-shaped object of beautifully veined pink and white marble, pierced lengthwise with a rather large hole, and engraved, also lengthwise, with an inscription in seven lines, two of which are double, as follows:—



Šar-ga-ni	*Sargon*
lugal-lag	*the messenger king,*
šar	*king of*
A-ga-de (ki)	*Agade,*
a-na	*to*
(ilu) Šamaš	*Samas,*
in Sipar (ki)	*in Sippara,*
a-mu-ru	*I have dedicated.*

"I, Sargon the messenger-king, king of Agade, have dedicated [this] to Samas in Sippara."

Now who is this "Sargani the king," king of Agade? Surely this is the same king as is known to us by the later inscriptions under the name of Sargina of Agade, the very king mentioned by Nabonidus, who reigned as far back as 3800 B.C. Sargon, of whom it is told that his mother put him in a little ark on the Euphrates, and that he was found by Akki the husbandman, who brought him up as his own son, and that, after a time, he succeeded to the throne of Babylonia. He who, in later times became, alike in Assyria and Babylonia, a national hero, whose deeds were celebrated in poetical legend, and also, most likely, in song.

But this is not the only inscription of the time of that early king. Known to the world, and yet unknown, another exists. In the year 1878 M. Ménant, the well-known French Assyriologist, described a cylinder in the collection of M. de Clercq (who is owner, by the way, of some of the most valuable and interesting monuments known), containing the name of a king which he read as Še-ga-ni-šar-luǵ. This important monument M. Ménant has again published this year (1883), reading the name in the same way. A single glance, however, was enough to show that the first character of the name, which M. Ménant read as *Še*, was in reality *Šar*, and that the two last characters did not properly belong to the name. The inscription, which is in six lines, two of which are double, is in Akkadian, and is to be read as follows :—

	D.P. Sar-ga-ni	*Sargon*
	lugal-laǵ	*the king,*
	lugal	*king of*
	A-ga-de (ki),	*Agade,*
	Ib- nî- šarru	*Ibnî-šarru*
	dup-sara	*the*
	ura-zu	*thy servant.*

The lines of the inscription are written lengthwise, in one column, near the upper edge, and almost resting on the hinder parts of two bulls, who stand, as it were, back to back. The heads of the bulls are raised and held sidewise, showing the broad span of the wide-reaching horns; and they drink from the twofold stream flowing from the vase which the hero Gišṭubar (known from the curling locks which fall to his shoulders) holds out to them. The hero is represented naked, kneeling on one knee, holding the vase by the neck with one hand, and supporting it beneath with the other. Underneath is a wavy border-ornament, representing either the sea or the sky.

This cylinder is also of great importance, as it gives us an idea of the style and nature of the representation on cylinder-seals at this early date, and enables us to fix approximately the date of other works of art of a similar nature. It is probable that several of the cylinder-seals in the British Museum, bearing designs representing Gištubar and Ea-banî overcoming lions and bulls, belong to the same early period, as they show great similarity of both design and workmanship.

Besides the interest attached to these as the very earliest examples of Babylonian art known—examples that show that even at that early period very considerable advance indeed had already been made—there is also a philological interest. The egg-shaped object in the British Museum is, be it noted, in Semitic Babylonian, exhibiting, in the few words used, two interesting peculiarities. The first is the use of the form *i* instead of *ina* for the preposition "in," and the use of the root *âmâru*, the Hebrew אָמַר, with the meaning of "to dedicate," instead of "to see,"—the signification which it almost invariably has in the later texts. With regard to the form of the royal name (✳) 𒋗𒋛𒌋 𒄭𒂗𒍪 𒄩𒂗𒍪 Sargani, found in both monuments, it is easy to see how it is that we get the form סַרְגוֹן in Hebrew, rather than סַרְגִּין, as would be expected from the later form of the name, Sargina. *Gani*, the latter part of the name, is evidently the early form of the well-known root which appears, later on, as *gina*, meaning "to fix."[1] The Greek form Ἀρκεάνου, evidently comes from the Assyrian Šarru-ukîn,[2] and has lost, like the more corrupt Ἀρνᾶ of the Septuagint, the sibilant with which both the Akkadian and Assyrian forms begin, replacing them by the soft breathing.

It has been contended by some scholars that the date of

[1] Another early cylinder in the Museum at New York, described by M. J. Ménant in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, gives us the similarly-formed name of "Bin-gani, the king, the son of the king,"—perhaps of the same dynasty.

[2] To be read thus, according to the tablets; but the Greek points to the form Šarru-kênu, "the faithful king," which was, perhaps, the true original Semitic form.

Sargon can hardly be regarded as correct, as we have only Nabonidus's word for it, and the text of the cylinder also may be corrupt. For my part, however, I think that Nabonidus had good grounds for giving the king so high a date, for the Babylonians had a very accurate system of chronology. As, also, this date of 3200 years is found on more cylinders than one, I cannot believe that the scribe has made a mistake. Taking into consideration the slow rate at which the Assyrian or Semitic Babylonian language changed, both in grammatical forms, and the meanings of the words, the peculiarities Sargani for Sargina, and *âmâru* in the sense of "to dedicate," instead of "to see," all point to a very ancient date indeed.

The style of the writing also, though showing clear wedges, yet approaches nearer the line-shapes than almost any other inscription—even those of Gudea. An inscription of Narâm-Sin, son of the above-named Sargon, found by M. T. Fresnel at Babylon (near the Nil canal), and afterwards lost in the Tigris, seems, judging from the copy published in W.A.I. I, pl. 3, No. VII, to have been written in the same style. This inscription, which is in Semitic Babylonian, is as follows: "Narâm-Sin, king of the four regions, ... of ... rag and Makan." (George Smith: "conqueror of Apirak and Magan.")

If Babylonian art had reached such a state of perfection (as shown by the small cylinder I have just described) at so early a date as 3800 B.C., the question naturally arises how far must we go back to seek the beginnings of that nation which produced it?

The next monument worthy of notice, brought by Mr. Rassam from Sippara, is an oblong instrument, the greater part of green stone, rather flat, rounded off at the broader end, and having the edges also bevelled off. It tapers gradually from the broader end, and is fixed into an ornamental bronze socket, cast or worked into the form of a ram's head, the eyes of which are inlaid with some white composition, the nose terminating in a small ring, from which something formerly hung. At the end to which the bronze part is fixed, and partly covered by it, is engraved, upon one of the

broader surfaces, six lines of inscription, in two columns, of which the following is a translation:—

COLUMN I.

1. A - na D.P. Šamaš, šar šamê ū êrṣiti, šarri - šu
To Šamaš king of heaven and earth, [his] king

2. D.P. Tukul - ti - Me - ir šar mât Ḥa - na
Tukulti-Mer, king of Ḥâna,

3. apil D.P. Ilu - ša - ba šar mât Ḥa - na
son of Ilu-šaba king of Ḥâna

COLUMN II.

1. a - na . . . . . - ki mâti - šu
for [the safety] of his land

2. u na - ṣa - ar - ti - šu
and his (own) protection

3. i - ki - iš
he has given.

"To Samas, king of heaven and earth, [his] king, Tukulti-Mer king of Ḥâna, son of Ilu-šaba, for the [safety] of his land, and his (own) protection, he has given (this instrument)."

This monument is most interesting, as it shows the renown of the shrine of Samas at Sippara,—a renown so great that the king of Ḥâna, near Karkemish, thought it of some use to make a present to the temple to gain the favour of the god there enshrined.

It is also worthy of note, that the names Tuġulti-Mer[1] and Ilu-šaba, are not only distinctly Semitic, but bear also a marked Assyrian or Babylonian stamp, and may be compared with the distinctly Semitic Ilu-bi'di, or Yau-bi'di, king of a district also in the neighbourhood of Karkemish, mentioned by Sargon of Assyria. These facts prove either that the language of the country of Ḥâna did not differ greatly from Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian, or that it was governed by kings of Assyrian or Babylonian race (the former is the preferable supposition). As the inscription is written in the Assyrian style, with a few archaic forms, it is probable that it is the work of Assyrians, and not of Babylonians. The monument therefore belongs, most likely, to the time of Shalmaneser II, king of Assyria about 850 B.C. This king, as we learn from the inscriptions on the Bronze Gates and from the above-mentioned cylinder of Nabonidus, visited Babylonia, and made offerings to and repaired the temples in many of the principal cities, and it is very likely that it was during the Assyrian occupation that this object was presented to the shrine of Sippara, and the inscription carved. It is probably one of those staves or batons which the Assyrian kings are sometimes represented holding, as it shows marks of wear evidently caused by being continually grasped in the hand.

Another monument of Assyrian artistic skill is a lion's head carved in white limestone, originally exceedingly hard, but now changed to chalk by the action of fire. This work of art, which is of most vigorous execution, was probably originally intended for an ornament for a chair or similar piece of furniture. The mouth, which is open threatingly, shows the well-formed teeth. Above the upper lip are, on each side, five curved sunken grooves, which were formerly inlaid with some material, probably to enable the long feelers or whiskers to be inserted. Wavy grooves for inlaying are also to be seen above the nose. The eyes are inlaid, and the holes for the insertion of the long hairs forming the eye-

[1] It is uncertain whether we ought to read *me-ir* or *me-ni*, but the characters lend themselves better to the former. *Mer* is evidently the same as *Me-ru*, found on the case-tablets, the Akkadian name of Rimmon.

brows still remain. In the middle of the forehead there had originally been inserted the little winged figure emblematic of the god Assur, now lost. Round the rim of the neck is the following inscription in Assyrian characters:—

"Sennacherib, king of multitudes . . . . Esarhaddon his son . . . ."

The date of this fine specimen of Assyrian workmanship is therefore about 685 B.C., and is a memorial of the conquest of Babylonia by Sennacherib, who seems, judging from the above inscription, to have set his son Esharhaddon on the throne of Babylonia in his own lifetime.

Another work of art, also, most likely, of Assyrian workmanship, is a very finely-carved calf's head in ivory. The modelling of the closed mouth, the broad nose, the full eyes, and the budding horns, is, in its way, excellent. The back of the neck and the front of the forehead is represented covered with hair arranged in rows of small curls, just like the winged bulls from Nimroud. A small object, not, however, in a very good state of preservation (pl. 2, No. 3), also of Assyrian workmanship, in a griffin's head of burnt limestone. This creature has a strange, almost comic, appearance. It is represented with the head of an eagle, a small comb like a cock, and the eyes, originally inlaid, seem to be inserted into a continuation of the ears. The neck is ornamented with spiral lines.

From this same interesting site also, Mr. Rassam has brought a very finely-carved figure, either of a Babylonian queen or else of Ištar or Venus, who is represented wearing a wig of long wavy hair, which falls below the shoulders, and holding in each hand, against her breast, a lotus-flower. The face is of a clearly Semitic type. Whether this object is of Babylonian or Assyrian workmanship or not is impossible to say. The alabaster of which this figure is formed is hollowed out, and it seems, from this circumstance, to have been part of some piece of furniture, and formerly supported something on the head. Fig. 1 on pl. 2 gives an excellent idea of this work of art.

These monuments, though few in number, put before us

several very interesting facts about the origin and nature of Babylonian art. As I have already said, the little egg-shaped object of Sargon I, confirming, as it does, the reading of the inscription on the cylinder-seal belonging to M. de Clercq, presents us with the earliest style of art. Gišṭubar, the warrior-hero, is there shown performing one of those feats which, it is only reasonable to suppose, formed the subject of one of the twelve tablets which were devoted to his history. This representation, and others like to it, now in the British Museum, show us the style of art of that ancient time, from which, as it seems to me, more is to be got than the mere comparison of forms and styles. The strongly-marked muscles of the man, his large head, his locks falling in large curls to his shoulders, are all characteristic of a *Semitic* race —the Assyrio-Babylonian stem. In the strongly-marked muscles we see the chief characteristic of Assyrian art, as found in the sculptures of the various Assyrian kings, and in Gišṭubar's long ringlets the origin of the elaborately-curled head-dresses and beards of the Assyrians. This is Semitic art as being distinct from the Akkadian.

A few centuries later, and we have a style quite different. The representations also are of a different kind. No longer do we see the exploits of Gišṭubar and his satyr-like friend Hea-banî, but representations of the various gods, such as Samas, the sun, Aa, the moon-goddess as his consort, Nergal and other divinities with the divine attendants, generally introducing the owner of the cylinder to the god—his patron god. The figures are tall and slim, but exceedingly well-proportioned, and often very beautifully engraved.

The period represented by this style of art extended from about 2200 B.C. to about 1200 B.C, and probably came in with the dynasty of which Ḫammurabi or Rimta-rapastum was the most celebrated ruler. Many works of art, probably belonging to this period, are now in the British Museum. They represent, for the greater part, either the Sun-god or his consort, clothed in the goatskin robe proper to their divine origin. Of all the figures from Abu-habbah or Sippara, only one is in the same style as those from Tel-lo or Lagaš, and now in the Louvre, and as this is made also of diorite, it is

probable that it is not of native Sipparite workmanship. No. 2 on plate 2 shows a small figure of the Sun-god seated, clothed in a goatskin robe, and holding in his right hand a cup. The autotype does not, unfortunately, show this very well.[1]

In the next period Semitic influence again makes itself felt, probably on account of the Babylonian artists copying Assyrian works of art, with which they were brought into contact by the growing importance of that nation. Assyria also began to invade Babylonia successfully with her armies, and the Assyrian kings, capturing the principal cities, made these for a time the seat of their court, and had works of art executed in the style of their own country, thus also spreading its influence. This happened in the time of Shalmaneser, of Sennacherib, of Aššurbanîapli, and also, most likely, of many other kings. The style of this period approaches very nearly that of the Assyrians. The figures are thick but well formed. The muscles show prominently, but not too much. The hair and beard are dressed in the Assyrian style.

Later still, but without changing its Semitic character, Babylonian art, perhaps under Persian influence, becomes plainer, and the representations on the cylinders change. Instead of the owner of the cylinder worshipping, in a respectful attitude, his own patron god, surrounded by divine attendants, he is shown, dressed in a very plain style of clothing, worshipping the emblems of his gods, raised up high upon a kind of pedestal upon a low altar. The utmost simplicity prevails, but the workmanship is, perhaps, quite as good as that of the best early period.

This is the last stage of true Babylonian art, for the Persians became masters of the land, and introduced their style. Many cylinders in the British Museum show the Persian style pure and simple. The figures are squarer and

[1] One interesting fact, which has not, I believe, been before remarked, may here be noted. Many of the Hæmatite cylinders of this period seem to have fallen into the hands of the Cyprians, who took them with them to Cyprus. These cylinders then underwent a transformation. All the unengraved spaces were filled with small figures in the Cyprian style. The inscription was ground out, and the space left utilized in the same way. Two or three cylinders which have been thus treated are in the British Museum.

more thick-set than in the former period, the head-dresses also are in the Persian style. In the mythological representations the animal-forms (as is also the case at Persepolis) are better executed and, even when roughly done, more graceful. After the Persian supremacy, Babylonian art may be said to have completely died out, and the designs on the seals show more Greek influence than anything else.

I have thus tried (though, I fear, very imperfectly) to treat very shortly of Babylonian art from a point of view from which it has not yet been looked at, and I hope that the study has not been quite without its advantages. I shall consider that my labour has not been wholly lost if I have succeeded in showing how closely the history of art in Babylonia agrees with what I have inferred from the indirect indications furnished by the antiquities recently brought from that country. First the Semitic style, then the Akkadian, disturbed again by the influence of Semitic (Assyrian) art from without, and lastly the Persian, itself an offspring of the earlier Semitic Assyrian or Babylonian art.

BIBLICAL NATIONALITIES PAST AND PRESENT.

By H. Rassam, F.R.G.S.

Read 4th December, 1883.

In addressing you this evening upon a very intricate, but at the same time a most interesting, subject relating to ancient Biblical lands and their inhabitants as they existed in olden times, and do exist at present, I do not intend to enter minutely into a religious or scientific dissertation. I wish merely to try and give a common-sense account of what I know of the peoples of those countries, together with some information I have gleaned from different sources relating to them.

Of all the nationalities mentioned in the Old Testament, only the Persians hold their own now both in dominion and power, the remainder having been brought into subjection under one sway, that of the Turk, known in history by the name of Tartars or Scythians. Of all the tribal and national names mentioned in Scripture and ancient history, not one has retained its primitive name, with the exception of the "Jew." More than nine-tenths of the population of Turkey and Persia are followers of Mahommed, and the remainder are a mixture of Christians, Jews, and nondescript sects, as the latter do not exactly know themselves what they believe in. They are the Guebres or ancient Parsees, Sabians, who are commonly known as Christians of St. John, Ansarees, Drooses, Yezeedees, or devil worshippers, and Shabbaks. From the constant intercourse and intermixing with their Christian and Moslem neighbours, more especially from being perpetually assailed and persecuted in their religious rites, the latter sects have come now to acknowledge the true God of the believers in revealed religion. It is a noteworthy fact that though constant mention is made in the Bible of the idolatry of the different Gentile nations, there is now no such thing as

worship in high places of idols or of the heavenly hosts, in any part of Turkey or Persia, nor are there any sacrifices performed by any known community.

The Christians are distinguished by the names of their sects, such as Armenians, Greeks, Chaldeans, Syrians, Maronites, and Copts. As I have to touch again upon the variety of the beliefs existing among these Christian sects, and their origin, I must first give a short statement of the rise and progress and ultimate fall of the two great ancient kingdoms, Assyria and Babylonia, which were so famous for their civilization and conquests.

There is such great diversity of opinion as to the history and duration of the Chaldean, Assyrian, Median, and Medo-Persian monarchies, that it is very difficult to make proper calculations from the conflicting opinions that present themselves. Though some critics have found difficulties in some of the chronological accounts in the Hebrew sacred writings, they cannot, I think, place more faith in the dates given by profane historians. It has even now not been quite proved exactly what was the origin of the Chaldean monarchy, and at what period the Assyrian kingdom came into existence. In Genesis (chapter x, verses 11 and 12) it is recorded that "out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city." But in the margin the going forth of Asshur is rendered, "He went out into Assyria"; that is to say, Nimrod himself went thither and built Nineveh and the other great ancient cities. A good deal of discussion has taken place as to the true meaning of the word *Asshur*, inasmuch as the Hebrew אשור may be translated either as a proper name or a country, and at present some believe that it means the former, and others the latter. The same difficulty seems to present itself in connection with the mention of the divine punishment to the land of Assyria alluded to by the prophet Micah (chapter v, 6), where it is said: "and they shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof." Some scholars are of opinion that "the land of Nimrod" was here meant to be Babylonia or Chaldea, but

others take it to be Assyria; and I suppose that those who differ now would each have their own adherents to the end of the chapter. I must confess I am of the latter opinion; because in the whole book of the prophet Micah there is not the least allusion made to Babylonia or Chaldea, but that, as it is said in Psalm lxxviii, 51, that "God smote all the first-born in Egypt; the chief of their strength in the tabernacles of Ham"; so also the land of Assyria and of Nimrod meant the same country in Micah.

In quoting the dates of the existence of the different principal nationalities, I do not intend to give an opinion upon them, but shall merely confine myself to what certain writers, more able than myself to master the subject, have set forth, and leave it to others to make their own deductions.

According to the chronology in the margins of the Bible, Nineveh or the oldest Assyrian empire was founded about 2230 B.C.; but Diodorus Siculus, taking his information from Ctesias, says that it was founded by Ninus 2183 B.C., whereas Africanus is said to have fixed the foundation of the Assyrian Monarchy, on the authority of Syncellus, about 2284 B.C. Eusebius, the historian, places it about 2116, and Amilius Sura makes it 39 years later. The most clear evidence is mentioned by Polyhistor, found in the Armenian Chronicle, and believed to be an extract from the work of Berosus, the Chaldean historian, and priest of the temple of Belus in Babylon. This record contains a table from the dynasties of the old Assyrian Empire assigning the date to each, and the addition of the figures give the epoch 2317 B.C. as that of the foundation of the first Assyrian Monarchy. The duration of the first Assyrian Empire, according to the account given by Ctesias, was 1,306 years, but both Herodotus and Berosus make it only about 526.

The later Assyrian Empire commenced with Tiglath-Pileser I about 1110 B.C., and lasted only 470 years, and its importance terminated with Assur-bani-pal III, called by the Greeks Sardanapalus, about 640 B.C. This monarch became famous from his warlike exploits, and it appears that in his time art improved greatly, judging from the sculptures which

adorned his palace in Nineveh, and which are now exhibited in the basement room at the British Museum. In this palace I discovered the Deluge and Creation tablets, and the record of his twenty-four year's reign and conquests inscribed on terra cotta cylinders, which were found buried in the walls. Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, the father of Assur-bani-pal, reigned from 721 to about 660 B.C. These four kings seem to have extended their conquests far and wide, especially in Western Asia, between the Mediterranean and the Halays on the one hand, and the Caspian and the Great Persian Desert on the other. During the period of their reign they ruled over Susiana, Chaldea, Babylonia, Media, Armenia, Mesopotamia, parts of Cappadocia and Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Idumea, and, for a time, Lower Egypt. Cyprus was also for a short period a dependency of Assyria, and the prince of that island used to bring the yearly tribute to the king of Assyria at Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beyrout. With the son of Sardanapalus, who was supposed to be Saracus, the last remnant of the Assyrian Monarchy came to an end through the invasion of his country by the Median king Cyaxares, who was in alliance with the Chaldeans and Susianians. He had made Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, his general, and sent him to Babylon as his deputy; but on arriving there he revolted, and concluded a treaty with Cyaxares, after which, in conjunction with the Medes, he besieged Nineveh. Saracus, who was weak and effiminate, spent his best time in debauchery, and neglected the care of his kingdom; so when the Medo-Chaldean army besieged Nineveh he, finding no escape from disgrace and ruin, shut himself up with all his family and followers in his palace, which he committed to the flames, and perished with it. This edifice, where Sennacherib was supposed to have been murdered by two of his sons, was discovered by Mr. Layard in 1845. It was found to be utterly destroyed by fire, but nothing of any intrinsic value was seen in any of the rooms, nor was there any sign of the household utensils or furniture in any part of the building. Everything the last Assyrian king possessed must have been either made of perishable materials, or else, before the palace was filled

in with *débris*, the enemy despoiled it of all its valuables. History informs us that the Tigris rose at the time to such an extraordinary height such (an incident not having occurred before or after that event), that it destroyed a part of the wall and suburbs, which enabled the invading force to gain admittance into the city. The enemy completed its destruction by setting the whole city on fire and demolishing its strongholds. All the Assyrian palaces and temples show unmistakable signs of the wilful destruction caused by the enemy.

There were six palaces and three temples discovered in what I consider to have been the radius of ancient Nineveh, as it existed in the time of the Prophet Jonah, supposed to have been in the time of Shalmaneser II, or about the year 860 B.C. The oldest that was discovered at Nimroud by Mr. Layard, and called by him the *north-west palace*, was built, according to the inscription found on the sculptures of Assur-nazir-pal, or Asshur-dani-pal, the father of Shalmaneser. This was the only palace in Assyria which was found in a tolerable state of preservation, and which had not been injured by fire.

The second palace was that of Sargon, at Khorsabad, discovered by M. Botta in 1844, when he was acting as French Consul at Mossul. The sculptures were here found in a dilapidated condition, but some of the huge human-headed bulls and gigantic figures were in a wonderful state of preservation. The colossus supposed to be the Assyrian Hercules is represented carrying a lion under his arm, and holding a scourge in his right hand. Both at the Louvre and the British Museum there are fine specimens of these monoliths. At Khorsabad, as well as Koyunjik, the great portals forming the centre of the façade consisted on each side of three colossal bulls with human heads and eagles' wings, and a giganiic figure of a man as I have above described, each formed of a single block of alabaster. All those at Koyunjik were in a dilapidated state, and unfit to remove. The north-west palace at Nimroud had its great portals also adorned with human-headed bulls and lions, of much smaller size than those found at Khorsabad and

Koyunjik; but there were no human figures between them, and the lions and bulls forming the entrances were placed singly on either side.

The third, and the largest of all the royal buildings, was found by Mr. Layard, at Koyunjik, or Nineveh proper; but the sculptures of this palace were so much burnt and dilapidated that only a few of them could be removed to England. On one of the bulls of this structure was inscribed Sennacherib's memorable expedition against Lachish and Jerusalem, as related in the 18th chapter of 2nd Kings, and 36th chapter of Isaiah.

The fourth palace was found at the mound of Nebbi-Yunis, adjoining Koyunjik, which was began by Sennacherib, and finished by his son and successor, Esarhaddon. This was partially excavated by Hilmi Pasha, the governor of Mossul, in 1852, for the Ottoman Government. From the rude and unfinished state of the alabaster slabs found there, it seems that before Sennacherib had time to adorn its walls with sculptures, he met with his death, at the hands of his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer. It appears that the Assyrian monarchs were in the habit of pannelling the chambers and halls of their palaces with plain alabaster slabs; and after each great victory or conquest, they engraved a separate scene or subject in a different room; so one chamber represented a battle in Babylon, another in Lachish, another in Susa, and so on.

The fifth royal residence was built by Esarhaddon at Nimroud, which Mr. Layard calls the *south-west palace*, but in comparison to the other Assyrian buildings it is scarcely worth so grand a name. All the slabs of this edifice seem to have been used formerly by some other king, the sculptured side being turned to the wall, generally upside down, and new designs of the reigning monarch engraved upon the clear side. This shabby way of erecting a palace by a renowned king does not quite coincide with what Esarhaddon has recorded in his annals regarding the magnificence of the royal residences and temples he set up in Assyria. In one inscription he states that he built no less than thirty temples, "shining with silver and gold, as

splendid as the sun." In another place he speaks of another palace which he had built in Nineveh, on the mound known now by the name of Nebbi Yunis, which he calls a palace, such as the kings his fathers who went before him had never made. He gave it the name of "the palace of the pleasures of all the year." It was supported on wooden columns, and roofed with cedar and other choice woods.

As I mentioned before, when the Ottoman authorities excavated in this mound they found nothing but plain slabs, and unfinished human-headed bulls and gigantic figures. I made some tentative excavations there three years ago, but was not allowed to do much in consequence of the opposition of the Ottoman authorities. It is to be hoped that the British Museum will yet be permitted to carry on the necessary excavations there, as I feel confident that some very valuable records will be recovered.

The sixth palace was discovered by me at Koyunjik in 1854, and belonged to Assur-bani-pal III, son of Esarhaddon, commonly known by the name of Sardanapalus. A large number of the bas-reliefs were in a good state of preservation, and those which represent the lion-hunt show a great advance in art in comparison to other Assyrian stone-carving. As I have already given you in a former paper an account of the fortunate way I discovered this palace, it need not now be repeated.

There is another notable mound in Mesopotamia, about sixty miles down the Tigris from Mossul, called Kalah-Shirgat, which must have been a very important city in the time of the first Assyrian monarchy. It was founded, according to the theory of Assyrian scholars, by Asshur, where the seat of government was first established, and which is considered to be the Resen of the Bible, mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis. Both Mr. Layard and I excavated there, but neither found any trace of its former magnificence. We both discovered a few ancient fragments and some inscriptions, but there was no sign of any ancient building. In a small conical mound in the centre of the main one we found three terra-cotta cylinders, almost duplicates, giving the history of Tiglath-Pileser I, about 1300 B.C. These cylinders are supposed to be the oldest records discovered in Assyria.

The first temple was discovered by Mr. Layard in 1850, at the north-west corner of the mound of Nimrod, near the pyramid built by Assur-nazir-pal, the remainder of which I believe I discovered in 1876; everything in it was in utter ruin.

The second was the temple of Nebo, which I discovered in 1854, at the south-west corner of the mound of Nimrod. I found nothing in it save six statues of Nebo, dedicated in honour of King Iva-Rush and his queen Semiramis. Two of these statues are now in the British Museum.

The third and grandest temple I discovered in 1876 was in a separate mound called Balawat, about 15 miles to the east of Mossul, where I obtained for the British Museum the famous bronze gates of Shalmaneser. As I have already related to you in a former paper, I had no end of trouble to secure this interesting relic for the national collection, because the whole mound of Balawat is covered with Moslem tombs, and, as a matter of course, there was a good deal of opposition against my digging there; but happily, by patience and perseverance, I managed to have the whole removed safely to Mossul, from whence I conveyed it to England.

This gate was put up by Shalmaneser II (B.C. 860 to 825), most probably in the time of the mission of the prophet Jonah to Nineveh. The bulk must have been made of cedar or other wood. Only the bronze plates have been preserved, which are fourteen in number, each measuring about eight feet in length by one in width. Each plate is divided into two panels, ornamented along the edges with rosettes, between which are represented battle-scenes, triumphal pageants, and religious performances of the king.

According to the opinion of Assyrian scholars, the mound of Nimroud was *Calah*, and assume the present Kalaa-Shirgat was *Resen*, mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis, and the majority of travellers place *Rahaboth* on the right side of the Euphrates, about 250 miles above Babylon, on the site of the present ruin called "Rahaba."

Nimroud may or may not be *Calah*, but I am certainly in utter discord with the theory about the sites of *Resen* and *Rahaboth*. It has been considered by different travellers, on

the authority, I suppose, of the Targums of Jonathan and Jerusalem, that Kalaa-Shirgat is the site of *Resen*, as it has been called "Tel-Assur," from Asshur the primitive name of the place in the cuneiform writing. I do not quite agree with this theory, because if we take the account of Moses even as an historical fact, we cannot but regard his legend to be a correct one from his other geographical notices. We are told in the tenth chapter of Genesis, that Resen was "between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city"; whereas the present Kalaa-Shirgat is about 40 miles to the south of Nimroud, and the latter place is only about 18 miles to the south of Nineveh proper. As for the reasoning that the present ruins of "Rahaba," near the modern town of Mayadeen, are the site of the old *Rahaboth*, it is quite untenable, because the style of the architecture of Rahaba belongs to that of the Sassanian period, or the time of the last Arab conquest, and has not the least resemblance to Assyrian remains. Moreover, Rahaba is situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, about 250 miles to the north-west of Babylon, and about 150 miles to the south-west of Nineveh, and whether Nimrod or Asshur was the founder, he could not have built three cities within the space of sixty miles, and proceeded to the Syrian desert to build the fourth! My idea is, that the *Calah* of Scripture is Kalah-Shirgat, *Resen* is Nimroud, and Rahaboth is a site which I partially excavated on the right bank of the Tigris, about 40 miles from Nineveh, and 20 miles from Kalaa-Shirgat. Or else if Nimroud is really *Calah*, as Assyrian scholars assert, then I would fix the site of Resen at Yarimja, about three miles to the south of Nineveh.

I believe that in the time of the prophet Jonah what was called Nineveh included Nimroud on the south, and Khorsabad on the north; the circumference of the whole space between would be about 60 miles, which tallies exactly with the account of Jonah, that "Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey," reckoning 20 miles a day, according to the way a pedestrian travels in that country.

As regards Babylonian history, I think that we can only rely with any degree of certainty on the sacred record for its origin. It is said also in the 10th chapter of Genesis that

the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord," was "Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." Different travellers and others have puzzled their heads from time to time in tyring to fix different spots to these localities, but we cannot place any reliance in *all* their hypotheses. The only place we can safely accept as authentic is Babylon, because all historians alike, together with tradition from time immemorial, pointed to the exact locality. Erech might have been situated near Bagdad, on the left bank of the Tigris, where there are a large number of artificial mounds, because even now the Bagdad district is called Erach or Erack.

The British and the French have been exploring Babylon and its surroundings from time to time for the last fifty years, and I myself have been digging there with success ever since the beginning of 1878. I discovered one palace at Birs Nimroud, the supposed site of the temple of Belus, which was built by Nebuchadnezzar, and was occupied by Nabonidus the usuper when Cyrus took Babylon.

In Babylon itself there was no regular structure discovered, as the whole place was so thoroughly destroyed that if it was not from all we read of it in the Bible and ancient history, no one would credit the possibility of the existence there of such a magnificent city. The whole place seems to have been destroyed by an earthquake or some other supernatural event. Nothing can now be seen of what is called in the Bible "the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency," but heaps of rubbish intermixed with broken bricks, pottery, and enamelled tiles of different colours. The latter are supposed to have embellished the famous palace of the kings of Babylon.

The temple which Herodotus mentions must have been situated at Birs Nimroud, the Borsippa of the ancients, and what has always been supposed by Jewish and Christian historians to be the site of the Tower of Babel. Formerly most writers upon the history of Babylon placed it at the mound called by the Arabs "Babel," and which Mr. Rich and others erroneously styled "Imjaileeba"; but since my discovery of the palace in which Nabonidus was residing at the

time Babylon was captured, and the finding of four wells at "Babel," which proved it to be the site of the hanging gardens, it is concluded that the famous temple was situated at Birs Nimroud. All the idols of the Babylonians have been swept off the face of the earth, and not a vestige of them is seen anywhere; I mean the separate stone idols, of which there must have been a large number.

As for Babylon itself, Herodotus gives the following description of it: "The city stands on a broad plain, and is an exact square, 120 furlongs in length each way, so that the entire circuit is 480 furlongs. While such is its size, in magnificence there is no other city that approaches it. It is surrounded in the first place by a broad and deep moat full of water, behind which rises a wall 50 cubits in width, and 200 cubits in height." The above description makes the size of Babylon in the time of Herodotus, *i.e.*, about the 5th century before the Christian era, 60 miles in circumference, or as large as Nineveh; but the difference between those two great cities was that the former was almost square, and situated on either side of the Euphrates, while the latter was oblong, and occupied the left bank of the Tigris. But the width and height of the wall that surrounded Babylon was far greater in dimension than that of Nineveh. According to the account given by different historians, the height of the wall of the former city was about 350 feet, and 90 feet in width. Diodorus Siculus informs us that the wall of Nineveh was so broad that three chariots might be driven together upon it abreast, and that of Babylon was wide enough to allow six chariots to drive on it side by side. Whenever I visit the ruins of Babylon, I always wonder whether the grand descriptions given to us by ancient historians of the size and magnificence of the capital of Chaldea was not for the most part a fabrication, or, at all events, greatly exaggerated. Much time has been spent in trying to trace the exact extent of the city or its walls, but no tangible results have been obtained. Indeed, I myself have tried over and over again to find even a remnant of a few feet of that famous wall, and could not see any sign of its existence, as its destruction was quite complete. Herodotus tells us in

Book I, chapter 179, that in the circuit of the wall were "a hundred gates, all of brass, with brazen lintels and side posts"; and in another place (Book III, chapter 159) he relates that Darius, for the purpose of preventing the Babylonians from rebelling again, destroyed the wall and tore down all the gates.

I must now touch upon the religion of the primitive Babylonians and Assyrians, but I fear that to argue against the eccentric theories of writers, and try to convince all as to the real belief of the ancient and modern Gentiles, would only increase the difficulty, and I should find, after no end of trouble, that I had only wasted time and paper to no purpose; so I shall merely quote certain writers who have made the subject their study, and leave it to others to form their own conclusions.

There is no doubt that both the Assyrians and Babylonians, as well as other ancient nations, worshipped or adored the elements and the heavenly hosts, and from time to time deified some powerful and victorious kings, teachers of morality, and those who led pious lives; but the worship of the true and invisible God is traceable in all the worship of the different sects in the universe.

The most striking representation of the devotional rites of the Assyrians in the time of Shalmaneser is shown on the bronze gates of Balawat, which I have already alluded to. The king (supposed to be Shalmaneser himself) is represented acting the functions of the priest, and in the place where he is officiating there is the usual tablet of stone representing a deified king, resembling the rock tablets of Bavian and Nahr-el-Kelb near Beyrout. The king seems to be assisted by a priest in offering incense before the usual Assyrian sacred symbols, and two attendants are throwing the legs of a sacrifice of either a ram or a bullock into the water, as a thank-offering to the element, either sea or river. In other places the attendants are represented bringing kine and sheep to offer as a sacrifice; but the whole scene is so wrapped in mystery, that as yet we can only glean some unsatisfactory explanation. There is one clear fact, however, in connection with Assyrian worship as represented on the

bas-reliefs, that no heinous or revolting ceremonies are shown, such as human sacrifice and the worship of Venus, known to the Phœnicians and Assyrians by the name of Ashtaroth and Ishtar. This proves that the Assyrians did not follow the abominable practice of the Babylonians, nor that of the Amorites, in sacrificing their children to Adrammelech, Annammelech, and Moloch, but merely invoked different gods to whom they attributed divine powers.

The ancient Medes and Persians undoubtedly worshipped the elements, especially the fire, as a personification of the sun, or the divine bestower of light on the universe, but their faith centered on the powers of Ormuzd, the giver of life, or the "god of good," and Ahraman, the destroyer, or "god of evil." Zoroaster manifested himself in Persian mythology in the time of Daniel, but others place his date about 700 years earlier.

Having touched in the beginning of my lecture upon the Christian nationalities existing at present in the lands of the Bible, I must make a few observations in reference to their creeds, and the nomenclature by which they are distinguished.

With the exception of a few Armenian families at Bagdad and Diarbekir, and some who are attached to the Greek Church at the latter place, the whole of the Christian community now inhabiting the country above alluded to are divided into four different sects, having, in my opinion, the same Chaldean or Assyrian origin, but who are now styled Chaldean Nestorians, Chaldean Catholics, Syrian Jacobites, and Syrian Catholics. The Nestorian community occupy the southern part of Koordistan, and in the vicinity of Lake Oromia in North-Western Persia. The Chaldean Catholics reside at Mossul, Bagdad, Diarbekir, Assyria, Southern Koordistan, bordering on Assyria, and Northern Persia. The Syrian Jacobites and Syrian Catholics are almost always to be found together at Bagdad, Mossul, and its immediate vicinity, at Mardeen, Diarbekir, and the Toor Mountains on the extreme south-western limit of Koordistan.

The Jacobites belong to that part of the Christian Church called Monophosite; that is to say, those that followed the

doctrine of Eutychus, who flourished in the 5th century, and taught the one nature of Christ.

The Monophosites are divided into four branches, namely, the Jacobites, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians. But as it is not my intention to touch upon the constitution of the three last mentioned sects, I will only remark that of all the Monophosite sects only three are remaining who have retained the name of their nationality, and these are the Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians; whereas the Jacobites are called after Jacob Baradeeus, the zealous defender of their faith in the 6th century, when it was nearly extinct.

It is remarkable that the so-called *Syrian* Jacobites and *Syrian* Catholics are not natives of what is known in Europe as Syria, nor are there many families of their sects in that country; whereas the majority of the Christians in Syria are called Maronites, Greeks, and Armenians! The word Syria or *Syriannee*, as it is applied in Arabic, is known in the East simply to denote a religious sect, and not natives of any country in particular; for although some modern geographers have tried to define the limits of *Syria*, yet it is a known fact that neither the Hebrews nor the Greeks knew exactly what constituted the boundary of Syria, or what is really meant by the *Syrian* language. In the English Bible, as also in the Septuagint, the words *Aram* and *Aramaic* are rendered *Syria* and *Syriac*—words which have no similarity to them either in sound or sense. It has been conjectured by a number of authors that the word *Syria* is a corruption of *Assyria*, as it is mentioned by Herodotus that "the *Assyrians* were called by the Greeks *Syrians*." As the Assyrians always spoke, and still speak, the Aramaic language, and had governed the whole country between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, it may be that the word Assyria (corrupted by the Greeks into *Syria*) became a general term for all peoples who occupied the present Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Assyria, the so-called Syria, and the Holy Land; the same as the word Turkey is now applied to all those provinces, though the inhabitants are not Turks. The dubious rendering of the word Aram into Syria and Syriac in the English Bible is a misnomer,

because Laban and Jacob were called *Syrians*, which term cannot possibly apply to their nationalities.[1]

I do not believe that there has been in modern times greater discussion about any historical question equal to the present diversity of opinion as to the nationality of Abraham. A new theory has lately been started that he came from Maggayir, or Mockayir, about 180 miles below Babylon, because forsooth some inscription had been discovered at that mound bearing the name of "Ur," from where we are told in the Bible he came forth! If we were to accept such a reason there would be no end of confusion, as there are now existing towns and cities bearing the same name, such as Richmond, London, Alexandria, Windsor, &c. Following the same line of argument, we shall no doubt soon be told that Aden, the British Arabian settlement near the Red Sea, is the site of Paradise, because the word "Eden," mentioned in Genesis, is spelled in Semitic languages with the same three letter, "עדן." Moreover it is utterly impossible to determine that the "ur" of the inscription of Maggayir is spelt and pronounced the same as in Hebrew. All ancient evidence is against the forced supposition that Abraham's native place was on the right side of the Euphrates instead of Mesopotamia, and 180 miles below Babylon instead of 300 above it. We only know of Abraham from the Bible, and certainly all the references to his country show that he came from ארם נהרים, "Aram Nahraim," or Northern Mesopotamia. When Abraham sent his servant, Eliezer of Damascus, to Mesopotamia, to bring a wife for Isaac, he warned him not to take unto his son a wife from the Canaanites, but *to go to his country and to his kindred.*[2] It must be borne in mind that when Eleazer was sent to the city of Nahor, Rebekah, Abraham's niece, was living with her brother Laban, across the river, in Northern Mesopotamia, the same country whence Balaam, the son of Beor, was sent for by Balak, the king of Moab, to curse Israel. Then in Saint Stephen's apology before the High Priest, he said that

[1] *Vide* Genesis xxxi, 20 and 24; also Hosea xii, 12. Again in the 5th verse of the 26th chapter of Deuteronomy, Moses charged the Israelites to say, when they went to the House of the Lord to offer the first fruits of the earth, "A *Syrian* ready to perish was my father."

[2] Genesis xxiv, 4.

"the God of Glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall shew thee. Then came he out of the land of the Chaldæns, and dwelt in Charran."[1] Moreover, we are told by Nicholas of Damascus, the historian, on the authority of Josephus, that Abraham came from the land of the Chaldeans *above Babylon.*[2] Tradition has also pointed from time immemorial the birth-place of Abraham to Orfa (Eddesa), or in its neighbourhood; and there is now a district between Orfa and Beerajeek which is called "Serooj," from Serug, the great grandfather of Abraham.

The word Aramee must have been understood then as the term English is at the present day. The Anglo-Saxon race retains its English language wherever its descendants settle, and yet the inhabitants of those countries are even now distinguished by different names. If we can imagine after two or three thousand years, when no chronological records exists, and the world has only to trust to the vague histories written by a foreigner mostly from hearsay, I do not think it would be an easy matter to define the origin of the Americans, Canadians, and Australians.

The Chaldean community considers itself, and rightly so, the most ancient both as regards its nationality and Christianity. As regards its origin, it is asserted that they are descendants of those Chaldeans or Assyrians mentioned in Holy Writ; and with reference to religion, the list of the names which composed the heads of the Church shows that their forefathers professed Christianity as early as the 1st century.

I need scarcely tell you that the origin of the modern *Chaldeans* is disputed by those who profess to know a good deal about the history of the Old World, but who nevertheless cannot show from what stock they really came. They allege that when that part of the Nestorian community embraced the Roman Catholic faith about 200 years ago, Innocent XI, the Pope of that time (A.D. 1681), bestowed upon them that dignified name. They cannot help, however,

[1] Acts vii. 2–4.

[2] Josephus, "Antiquities of the Jews," I, 7.

extending to them the ancient name of "*Assyrians*," because the land which they now inhabit is classically called by this name. Yet they forget that at one time, especially at the latter end of the Assyrian monarchy, the names Chaldean and Assyrian were synonymous, and the nation was sometimes known by one name and sometimes by the other.

To show how fallacious this assertion is, I will quote what Assemani, a Syrian historian, says in contradiction of it. He remarks firstly [Vol. IV, page 75] that Paul V, the 7th Pope before Innocent XI, wrote to Elias, Patriarch of the Chaldeans, who was then a *Nestorian*, thus: "A great part of the East was infected by this heresy [Nestorius], especially the Chaldeans, who for this reason have been called Nestorians." Secondly, in the same volume (page 1), the same author notices that the Chaldeans or Assyrians, whom from that part of the globe which they inhabit are termed Orientals, and from the heresy they profess Nestorians.

The followers of Nestorius did, and very often do, call themselves Nestorians, but that is merely for the sake of distinguishing themselves from the other sects, just as much as a Wesleyan or a Lutheran, if writing upon a religious matter, may not think it improper to say we Wesleyans or we Lutherans. Surely such words could never be misunderstood to mean nationalities! Moreover, as the Protestants are not ashamed of the name which was given them by Rome, neither did the Nestorians, I presume, object to the name given to them in the same way; but why this doctrinal name should be forced upon them in the sense of a nationality, when they are not connected with Nestorius either in his nationality or patriarchate, is a mystery.

Bar Hebræus, who lived in the 13th century, in writing about the Aramean language of the Chaldeans, remarks: "The Orientals, who are the descendants of the Chaldeans, are a wonderful people; in their tongue there is no difference between the *pthaha* and *zkapa*." These are two vowels employed by the Chaldeans in their writing, and which the so-called Syrians appear not to understand. Who can these Oriental Chaldeans be but the people of that name, who are the only known nation who have these two vowels in their alphabet!

In another place the same author remarks with regard to the Aramean language, under the head of the first Syriac letter "Alep,"[1] as follows: "There are three dialects of the Syrian tongue; 1st. The Aramean or Syriac, properly so called, which is the most elegant of all, and used in Mesopotamia, and by the inhabitants of Roha, or Edessa, of Haran, and the outer Syria. 2nd. The dialect of Palestine, spoken by the inhabitants of Damascus, Mount Libanus, and the inner Syria. 3rd. The Chaldee or Nabathean dialect, the most unpolished of the three, current in the mountainous parts of Assyria, and the villages of Irak and Babylonia."

Here again, no less than 500 years ago, a Syrian historian mentions the very dialect of the Aramean language which is now used by the Chaldeans. The Chaldeans do not agree, however, with the Syrians that their dialect is "unpolished"; but, on the contrary, it is considered to be the prettiest of all the Aramean dialects.

Assemani, the historian already alluded to, makes reference about the Chaldean Nestorians as follows: "The Nestorians are not called by this name in the East (for they regard their doctrines as Apostolic, and they had never any connection with the person of Nestorius), but are generally called Chaldaic Christians (because their principal or head church is in the ancient Chaldea)."[2]

It may not be uninteresting to quote from Xenophon, the Greek historian, who in his "Anabasis" mentions the nations occupying the Assyrian and Armenian mountains when Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, passed through that country about 550 B.C. The Chaldeans, Armenians, and Koords, who inhabited, and do now inhabit, those mountains are alluded to by him as follows:[3] "At daybreak, however, they perceived on the other side of the river a body of cavalry in complete armour, ready to prevent them from crossing; and on the high banks above the cavalry another of foot, prepared to hinder them from entering Armenia. These were Armenians, Mardians, and Chaldeans, mercenary troops of Orontes and

[1] Abulfaragus, "Hist. Dynst.," page 11.
[2] "Assemani," Vol. III, page 177.
[3] Book IV, chapter iii.

Artuchas. The Chaldeans were said to be a free people, and warlike; for arms they had long shields and spears. The high banks on which these forces were drawn up were 300 or 400 feet from the river; and the only road that was visible was one that led upward, apparently a work of art. Here the Greeks endeavoured to cross; but as on making a trial the water rose above their breasts, and the bed of the river was rough with large and slippery stones, and it was impossible for them to carry their arms in the water, or if they attempted to do so the river swept them away (while if any of them took their arms on their heads, they became exposed to the arrows and other missiles of the enemy), they in consequence retreated and encamped at the side of the river.

"They now perceived the Carduchi assembled in great numbers under arms on the spot where they themselves had been on the previous night. Hence great despondency was felt by the Greeks, as they knew the difficulty of passing the river, and saw the Carduchi ready to attack them if they attempted to cross."

In the Cyropædia [Book III, c. ii] Xenophon gives the following account of the Chaldeans and Armenians: "The next day Cyrus, taking Tigranes with him, and the best of the Median horse, together with as many of his own friends as he thought proper, rode round and surveyed the country, examining where he should build a fortress. Going up to a certain eminence, he asked Tigranes what sort of mountains they were from which the Chaldeans came down to plunder the country, and Tigranes pointed them out to him. He then inquired again: 'and are those mountains now entirely deserted'? 'No, indeed,' said he, 'but there are always scouts of the Chaldeans there, who give notice to the rest of whatever they observe.' 'And how do they act,' said he, 'when they receive this notice'? 'They hasten with aid to the eminences, just as each can.' Cyrus gave attention to this account; and looking round, observed a great part of the Armenian territory lying desert and uncultivated in consequence of the war. They then retired to the camp, and after taking supper, went to rest."

Again, he relates: "The Chaldeans had each a shield

and two javelins; they are said to be the most warlike of all people in that part of the world. They serve as mercenaries; if any one requires their services, being a warlike people, and poor; for their country is mountainous, and but little of it yields anything profitable. As Cyrus's men approached the heights, Tigranes, who was riding on with Cyrus, said, 'Cyrus, are you aware that we ourselves must very soon come to action, as the Armenians will not stand the attack of the enemy"? Cyrus telling him that he knew it, immediately gave orders to the Persians to hold themselves in readiness, as they would have immediately to press forward as soon as the flying Armenians drew the enemy down so as to be near them. The Armenians accordingly led on; and such of the Chaldeans as were on the spot when the Armenians approached, raised a shout, and, according to their custom, ran upon them; and the Armenians, according to their custom, did not stand their charge. When the Chaldeans, pursuing, saw swordsmen fronting them, and pressing up the hill, some of them, coming up close to the enemy, were at once killed; some fled, and some were taken; and the heights were immediately gained. As soon as Cyrus's men were in occupation of the summit, they looked down on the habitations of the Chaldeans, and perceived them fleeing from the nearest houses."

Both the Armenians and Koords inhabit the same country now, and why not the Chaldeans? The Armenians speak Armenian, the Koords Median or corrupt Persian, and the Chaldeans Chaldean. If the two former tribes are acknowledged, without any dispute, to be the descendants of the ancient Armenians and Carduchians, why not the Chaldeans also? Even at the present time the Nestorians are considered very warlike people, and the Armenians just the opposite, as they were in the time of Xenophon. Why then should the Armenians be called Armenians, but the Chaldeans merely Nestorians?

Having quoted the testimonies of different historians about certain people inhabiting Assyria and the mountainous region above it, who were called Chaldeans and Assyrians, and who are now styled Chaldeans, I will say a few words

with regard to certain facts which, in my opinion, are convincing proof that the present Chaldeans are the descendants of the ancient people of that name.

Firstly, the Chaldeans speak the very same language as is used by that remarkable tribe of Sabians, or Christians of St. John, as they are commonly called, who live near what was considered to be ancient Chaldea, and who are generally supposed to be the descendants of the old Babylonians and Chaldeans.

Secondly, the present Chaldeans, with a few exceptions, speak the same dialect used in the Targum, and in some parts of Ezra and Daniel, which are called "Chaldee." How came it then, that the "Nestorians," having no other language, should speak Chaldee? They must have inherited it from their forefathers, the Chaldeans, unless, indeed, fanciful critics can show that the popes of Rome made the converted Nestorians adopt the Chaldee when they bestowed upon them the national name of "Chaldean"!

Thirdly, when Laban, the Aramean or Chaldean, made a league with Jacob, he called the heap of witness, "Jegar-sahadutha," which means a heap of witness,[1] and the great canal which Ammianus mentions as having existed in Babylonia in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, was called Nahrmalka (king's river), which words are pure Chaldean, and have the same meaning with the so-called Nestorians.

What greater proof can there be of the origin of a people than their language? and certainly the Chaldeans are as much entitled to be called by that name as the Jews, Armenians, and Arabs, who now speak the languages of their forefathers. As the Assyrian or Aramaic became the vernacular dialect of Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Holy Land, after the Assyrian conquest, so also when the Arabians took possession of those countries, they established their language, which has been in use up to the present time.

Though, as I said before, Arabic is the vernacular language of Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Holy Land, yet each ancient sect uses its national or mother tongue in its rituals and other

[1] Genesis xxxi, 47.

rites; but the Chaldeans in Upper Assyria and Koordistan, as well as the Koords, can only speak their own tongue, Chaldean or Koordish; whereas, the official deeds all over the Ottoman dominions are in Turkish.

The language which is used by the Chaldeans is known in Europe by the name of Syriac, but the people call it Chaldean. The word Syriac is applied by them to the character used by the so-called Syrians or Jacobites. It is true there is very little difference between the Chaldean and Syriac, but there is some difference in the pronunciation of certain letters, the vowel points, and in the formation of the letters—about as much as there is between the old English and the Roman characters.

Formerly all the so-called Syrians employed the same writing, and pronounced every word the same as the Chaldeans do now; but in the 13th century Bar-Hebræus, a promoter of the Jacobites, wishing to make a thorough distinction between the writing of the Monophysites, and that of the Nestorians, changed the characters and the vowel points.

The Chaldean *p* and *a* are changed by the Syrians into *ph* and *o*. For instance, what the former as in Scripture times pronounce Eppathaha, the latter would call Ephothoho. Then such words as "Marantha" (our Lord's coming), "Abba" (father), "Talitha" (damsel), "Maria" (Lord), "Allaha" (God), the Syrians pronounce Morontho, Obbo, Taletho, Morio, and Olloho.

Though the writing of the present Syriac was invented in the 13th century, English students confuse all the different Aramean writings and dialects into one favourite nomenclature called "Syriac." Indeed, some scholars have now gone so far as to give to the old Chaldean character, said to have existed for 300 years before the Christian era, the extraordinary name of *Syro-Chaldaic*, which is, in my opinion, a far-fetched misnomer.

The remaining Christians of Asiatic Turkey are the Greeks, both orthodox and those who have joined themselves to the Church of Rome. As the doctrine of both is so well known, I need say little about them. Scarcely any members of either are found anywhere except in Asia Minor, and very few only in Syria and Palestine. All communities seem to fraternise with them, as their mode of worship pleases all.

The Mohammedans I need only refer to, as their special belief is not unknown.

I must now add a few remarks regarding the creeds of the semi-Gentile nationalities existing in different parts of Asiatic Turkey whom I casually mentioned in the commencement of this paper.

Whether Druzes, Ansareys, Shabbaks, Sabians, Yezidees, or Gebres, they one and all confess the same God as He Who is worshipped by all believers; and although each community has its own peculiar rites and secret dogmas (known only to themselves), nevertheless most of them practise certain ceremonies belonging to the Christians and Jews, as circumcision, baptism, and everything else which they consider to be a good policy to adopt to enable them to live in peace with their neighbours.

The Druzes are confined to Mount Lebanon, and are very seldom seen away from their country. Their religion, as far as it can be made out by strangers, is a mixture of Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism. They practise neither prayer nor fasting; they drink wine and eat swine's flesh. If they are asked within the hearing of a Moslem what they believe in, they profess to be followers of Mohammed. It is alleged that the Druzes are descended from the Carmathians (a sect of heretical Moslems which appeared at the end of the 9th century), but strictly speaking they are the followers of the fanatical "Caliph el Hakim," of the Fatimite race, who promulgated his own doctrine 200 years afterwards. This El Hakim was assisted in his what is called "divine mission" by Hamza and Edreezee, and it is supposed that the Druzes derived their appelation from the name of the latter.

The Ansarees, who inhabit the range of mountains north of Lebanon, between Tripoli and Antioch, seem to be in every respect not unlike the Druzes in their belief. They are also supposed to be a branch of the ancient Carmathians, and hold in veneration some of the Moslem saints, such as Fatima, and Hasan and Hosain, and attribute to the father of the latter two brothers divine privileges. They profess to believe in the Messiahship of our Lord, but not in His Atonement. They allege that God has been incarnate several times—that

He has been incarnate not only in Jesus Christ, but also in Abraham, Moses, and other persons celebrated in the Old Testament. They attribute also the same honour to Mohammed. They have borrowed from Christianity the practice of observing the communion, but they celebrate it strangely with wine and a morsel of meat. They are also alleged to believe in the transmigration of souls, but they hold that the soul of a devotee belonging to their own sect can enter Paradise after having passed through a small number of bodies; but the soul of any other person is obliged to have passed through eighty!

The Yezeedees, who are commonly called devil-worshippers, are found in Assyria, and on the frontier of Turkish Koordistan, in Russia, and Persia. Doubtless these people are descended from the ancient Chaldeans or Assyrians, but have been under the yoke of Islam for the last twelve hundred years, and have had such close connection with both Mohammedans and Christians that they have adopted some tenets of both religions. They profess to believe both in Christ and Mohammed. They practise baptism, but circumcision is optional with them. Though they believe and adore God, they do not consider that satan will be everlastingly excluded from heavenly bliss, but that at the day of judgment God will restore him to his former dignity of an archangel; on this account they hold him in awe, and consider it sinful to abuse him, for fear of his revenge when he regains his power. They are very particular about their food, and many things which Christians and Moslems eat they will not touch. They have a rude representation of a pigeon made of brass, which they call "Malik Tawoos," or "peacock," fixed on a brass stand, which they venerate very much, but they deny its worship. They have four of these curious symbols appointed to different districts, and the priests take them periodically round to the several Yezeedee devotees, in Turkey, Persia, and Russia, where their co-religionists exist, for the purpose of collecting money through their adoration. The Yezeedees are most clean in their dress and habits, and considered very industrious and brave, and are most hospitable to strangers.

The Shabbaks are found in Assyria and Mesopotamia, and are more like Moslems than any other semi-pagan community; indeed, those who have not mixed with them much would never think that they are not Mohammedans. They also believe in Christ, and confess Him to be divine, but they dare not make such confession before a Moslem. They venerate the Virgin Mary almost as much as the Roman Catholics, and call her the "mother of God."

The Sabians, sever[illegible]d Christians of St. John and Mendeans, from Mendai [illegible] o was, as it is alleged, a disciple of St. John [illegible] st. a[illegible]e found in Southern Babylonia, and are n[illegible]scended from the ancient Chaldeans. They l[illegible] other sects borrowed many rites and ceremonies fro[illegible] the [illegible]s and Moslems, but they are supposed to worship the [illegible]nly hosts, having inherited this faith from their forefa[illegible] This kind of idolatry prevailed in Chaldeas, from [illegible]ce it spread all over the West, and found its way to Greece. The sun, the moon, and the stars were believed to possess divine intelligence, and exercised a constant influence for good or evil upon the destinies of man. Even now the power of the moon as a source of bad or good fortune is believed in all over the world, without distinction of race or religion, by those who are more or less superstitious. It is said that there still exists in Syria, near Mount Lebanon, a branch of this sect, who call themselves "Galdeans," and who, like their brother Sabians, claim St. John the Baptist as their prophet and progenitor. Their belief is a middle course between Judaism and Christianity, but they adhere strictly to the sacrament of baptism. They also take honey and locusts alternately as a sacrament, which are distributed as consecrated elements to the worshippers present, and are sent to the absent equally as a religious rite. These people likewise have a good deal of Islamism mixed up with their worship, like all other semi-pagan nations.

The Guebres are descendants of the ancient Persians, and retain the old faith of fire-worship. There are very few of them now in Persia, as many have emigrated to India, chiefly to the Presidency of Bombay, and are known there by the

name of "Parsees." They never allow the sacred fire to be extinguished, nor would they blow out a candle with their breath, but extinguish it by the wave of the hand; it would be considered sacriligeous to spit or throw any unclean object into an ordinary fire. The Parsees are generally considered to be polytheists, worshipping not only the good and evil deities under the name of "Ormuzd" and "Ahriman," but the sun, fire, and other objects, which idea they borrowed from the Hindoos. Dr. Wilson, who was a missionary at Bombay for many years, says of the Parsee, "He at one moment calls upon Ormuzd, at the next upon his own ghost; at one moment on an archangel, at the next upon a sturdy bull; at one time on the brilliant sun, the next on a blazing fire; at one moment on a lofty and stupendous mountain, the next on a darksome cave; at one moment on the ocean, and at the next on a well or spring." Niebuhr in writing about the Parsees, says, "The Parsee followers of Zoroaster adore one God only eternal and Almighty. They pay however a certain worship to the sun and moon, the stars, and to fire, as visible images of the invisible Divinity." A learned Parsee of the name of Dozabhoy Framjee, in answer to Dr. Wilson's charges of idolatry against the Parsees, denies the existence among them of fire, sun, water, and *air* worship, but admits that according to the Parsee faith, "God is the emblem of glory, refulgence, and light, and in this view a Parsee while engaged in prayer is directed to stand before the fire, or to direct his face towards the sun, as the most proper symbols of the Almighty." So far Mr. Framjee corroborates Dr. Wilson's assertion, and with regard to the acknowledgments of God by the Parsees, it only proves that they have come to a true belief in God from their constant intercourse for hundreds of years with true believers in revealed religion, as all other Gentiles have done from time immemorial. Even the Hindoos are beginning to appreciate the belief in a Supreme Being, Who has the control of everything in heaven and earth.

There still remains small remnants of the half-pagan ancient Samaritans, and Assassins or Ishmaelites. A very few families of the former still remain near Shechem in Palestine. I need here only mention them, as their belief is well known.

But the " ssassins " or " Ishmaelites " are a heretical sect of Moslems ho forsook some parts of their former faith and adopted ange formulas which belong neither to the Christian nor the ammedan faiths. Formerly they were a formidable community, and the terror of the East; their chief seat was in Persia and Mount Lebanon; but now they exist only as a small and insignificant sect in the mountains west of Hama, in Syria. hat their name is derived from " Hasanees," or f Hasan, son of Ali, and grandson of Mo as they were notorious marauders, the Cru he word into *Assassins*

All the ancie , Amalakites, Edomites, Amorites, Hagare , and other minor tribes, who inhabited i, Arabia, and Syria, have one and all join now called Arabs.

There is one at, without any exception all the sects and h now inhabit the lands of the Bible, every man, woman, and child, call upon the Lord, the God of the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, in the name of " Allah."

Before I conclude, I must add a few words in reference to the word *Allah*, which has been misquoted in this country as if it meant anything else than the God who is acknowledged by all Christian nationalities all over the world. I can well understand that an ignorant man travelling amongst Indians, and hearing the Moslems in that country using the word *Allah*, would understand it as one of the gentile deities like Brahma, Budha, Shiva, and other false gods. But I marvel when I see professed Arabic scholars, and those who have travelled for a long time amongst the Arabs, and understand their tenets of faith introduce the word *Allah* in its Arabic paraphrase, when they write an Arabic story, as if it meant differently from the word " God " in English. Suppose I were to translate an English prayer to an Arab, and when I come to the word God, I name it in its English rendering, what would he think of its imports? I feel sure that he would conclude from my not translating it into Arabic that the English worshipped a different God from theirs. The translators of the authorised version of the Old

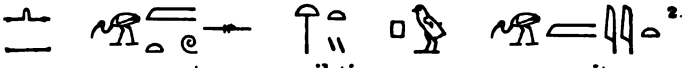
Testament might have just as well adhered to the Hebrew words Elohim, Adonai, and El, and not translated them into the English words God, Lord, and Most High God.

ON THE SHADE OR SHADOW OF THE DEAD.

By Samuel Birch, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., &c. (*President*).

Read , 1884.

By the expressio hadow there can be no doubt that the sh actual shade or shadow, for the gods are s shed by their shadow," *šu*;[1] and ften cited passage where the gods or souls are eposing under the shade of the branches of the in, in the description of the examination of the Abydos for the body of the god Osiris, where it states of the body—

 [2]

nn	qamuts	χaibti	pu	qamit
not	*was it found*	*a shade*	*it was*	*found*

In a scene too of the lamentations of the body of Osiris tall curving are seen over three figures lamenting, and the legend says :—

sn	χabit	χr	sn	χnn	sn	hr	sn
..*their*	*shade*	*with*	*them*	*rest*	*they*	*upon*	*them.*[3]

In all these passages the meaning is that of actual shade or shadow, without any spiritual allusion. So also of the serpent who is said to be devourer of shades, and the demon Asessor, who is called eater of shade coming out of the

[1] "Rec.," 4, 66.
[2] Mariette, "Abydos," i, 65, cited by Brugsch, "Wörterb.," pp. 1029, 1044.
[3] Sarcophagus of Peparsep, Sharpe, "Eg. Inscr.," pl. 41.

Karti, supposed to refer to the tropical well[1] at Syene. But shade or shadows were attached to spiritual existences as gods, spirits, and souls, and partook of the nature of these existences. They appear, however, distinct from them, and are mentioned separately from them. Nor can I find that they ate the food off the tables of offerings presented to the dead, like the *kas*, or ghosts, although, like the soul, they could drink the pure water offered to the dead, for the gods gave—

per ak r asi kabh n χaibt f

to go in and out to the chamber pure water to his shade.

This applies to their connection with the *kas*, ghosts, or *bas*, souls, but the god also had shade—

sat neteṯa n χaibt f

conducting a god to shade his.[2]

This is said of the goat-headed representations of the god Af passing through one of the hours of the night.

Attached to the soul, and also to the *ka* or 'Eidolon,' was the shade, which under the form , , of a shade or parasol appears in the texts placed above or at the side of representations of the soul. Phonetically it is written or *χab*, *χaibt*, or *χaibit*, and is the Coptic ϭⲏⲃⲓ, ϧⲏⲃⲓ, with a meaning similar to that of σκιὰ or *umbra* of the Greek or Romans. The shade was supposed to be the light envelope of the soul, visible but not tangible, and is often mentioned in connection with the *ba* or 'soul,'[3] as :—

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[1] De Rougé, "Inscr. Hier.," 1877, pl. 35.

[2] Bonomi, Coffin of Oimeneptothah, pl. 13; *cf.* Champollion, "Not. Descr.," p. 521.

[3] Reinisch, "Denkmäler in Miramar," p. 70.

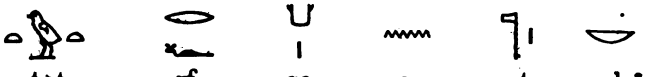
nn χna tn ba a nn sbau tn
not detain ye my soul do shut up ye

χaibit a un maten n ba a χaibit a[1]
shade my open the r my soul my shade

And again—

nn taut in nn sχm ut χaibt a
is not taken off evailed over (is) my shade.[2]

The shade w der over the earth, going to the tomb, visiting longed to him, enjoying the offerings of his relations, and then disappearing to the body in the grave. In the hieroglyphic texts, however, the shade has no representation beyond the head or mummied form, nor is it ever represented like the deceased; so that no light is thrown upon the hypothesis of its representing the form of the deceased from the monuments themselves. There also appears to have been only one 'shade' to each ghost or soul, while of the sun it is stated that he had seven *ba* and fourteen *ka*, eidola, or phantasms, two attached to each soul; the *ka*, indeed, had a form, as appears from the coffin of Amam, which states of the deceased:—



tut rf qa r neter neb[3]
the shape to him is the eidolon of god every

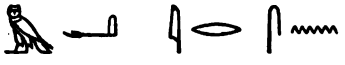
This would show that *ka* was the shape of every god. My object, however, is not to discuss the *ka*, which has been already amply done by Mr. Le Page Renouf and M. Maspero,

[1] "Todt.," ch. 22, 4. [2] "Todt.," c. 92. [3] British Museum, No. 6664.

but to analyse the nature of the *χaibit* or 'shade' from the monuments.

The shade is mentioned with the soul at the earliest period, for in the inscriptions of the Pyramid of Unas, of the sixth dynasty, at Sakkarah, it states :—

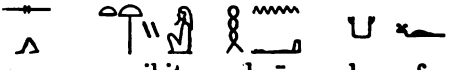
sek	bau	sn	χr		χaibitu
subdued	*souls*	*their*	*under*	*Unas*	*shades*



mtut	ar	sn
in the hand	*are*	*they*

"Their souls are under Unas, their shades are united together," and Unas devours the spirits in a burning hell.[1]

In the coffins of the eleventh dynasty, published by Lepsius, the shade is again mentioned as in the—



mas	χaibit	hnā	ka f
bringing	*the shade*	*with*	*his ghost*[2]

where it is connected with the *ka*. It is however at the time of the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty that the shades play the most prominent part in the inscriptions of the Tiau or under world.

In the Ritual the shades also appear :—

aham	- a	hr	nut	χaibit	χu
walk	*I*	*in*	*leading*	*shades*	*spirits*[3]

Here it must be either shades of the dead, or souls of spirits, in which cases the shade was something appended

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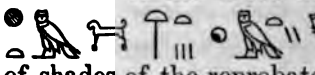
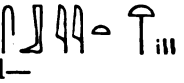
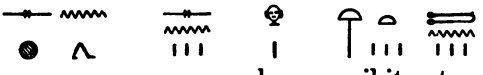
[1] Masvero, "Rec.," iv, 62. [2] Lepsius, "Aelteste Text," pl. 26, 8.
[3] "Todt.," ch. 64, 18.

to the spirit, as the shade was apparently also to the soul, as in another chapter:—

ka arti pert ba χaibit am a χpr
would making way my soul shade where I am prepared

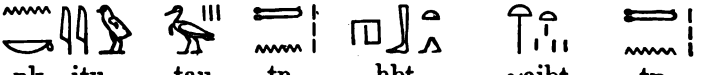
In another chapter, entitled the chapter of opening the chamber of the soul and shade coming forth daily sure of foot,[1] there can be no doubt that the shade was independent of the soul, although not represented in the vignette, for besides the shade of the gods, of spirits, and souls, there was also the shade of the dead, as in the passage of the Ritual where it says: "Do not let me be imprisoned by the detainers of the limbs of Osiris, the detainers of soul, the  χtom χaibit, *mut*, the lockers up of shades of the reprobate dead."[2] Again, "Not prevailing over my shade (the deceased and living off) the shade of the dead."[3] "Their soul," says another passage, "live by words accompanying their going out."

Some shades are called the damned,  *sebi ṭ*, in the Hades,[4] while of others it is stated—



sχn sn her χaibit tn
turn back they on shades your

that "they turn back (or rest) on your shades." Of another of the gods of hell it is said, "he cuts at your bodies"—



nk itu tau tn hbt χaibt tn
defeating souls your expelling shades your

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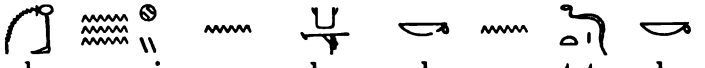
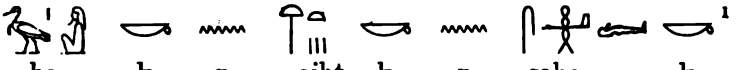
[1] "Todt.," c. 92, title. [2] "Todt.," c. 92, 7. [3] "Todt.," 149, 19, 38, 40.
[4] Champollion, "Not. Descr.," 787.

And in the passage:—



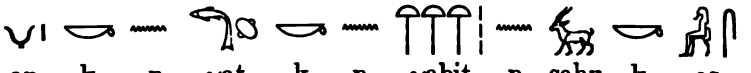
ab	spsnai	n	ka	ek	n	tet	k
purification	*twice*	*to*	*eidolon*	*thine*	*to*	*body*	*thine*



ba	k	n	χaibt	k	n	saha	k
soul	*thine*	*to*	*shades*	*thine*	*to*	*mummy*	*thine*

Here the elements of the dead are the ghost *qa*, the soul *ba*, the body *tet*, the shade *χaibt*, and the mummy *sahu*. The same is given from the unedited chapter of the Ritual of Amenhotep in the Louvre, "O ye dividers of souls, O all ye gods, who are lords of life, bring the soul of the Osiris Amenhotep that it may be united to his body, that his body may be united to his soul, his soul being separated from his body. The gods in Heliopolis (*hat ben-ben*) bring to him (his parts) at Heliopolis, the place of Shu, the son of Tum, his heart, *ab*, is to him as that of Ra, his other heart, *hati*, is to him as that of Khepera. Purification to thy *ka* (eidolon), to thy soul *ba*, to thy body *tet*, to thy shade *χaibit*."

Here it will be observed that although the deceased has only one *ba*, *ka*, and *sahu*, he has shades in the plural, as if shades were attached both to the *ka* and *ba*, for they are both mentioned before the *sahu* or body; and this recalls to mind that the Sun had seven souls, but fourteen *ka*, two *eidola or genii*[2] to each soul, and here I would apply the text "O leaders of souls, directors of shades



ap	k	n	χat	k	n	χabit	n	sahu	k	as
open	*thou*	*to*	*body*	*thy*	*to*	*shades*	*of*	*mummy*	*thy*	*noble.*

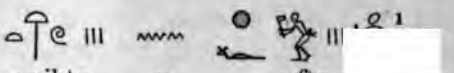
[1] Coffin of Teos, in the Louvre: Sharpe, "Eg. Inscr.," New Series, 41, 2, cited as in a papyrus also by Wiedemann, "Congr. provin. d. Orient. Francais," 1880, p. 160.

[2] Dümichen, "Patuamenapt," p. 11. *Cf.* Brugsch, "Wörterb.," 1230, he calls the *qa* "character." *Cf.* same passage, Dümichen, "Tempel Inschrift.," pl. 25, all late texts.

[3] Leemans, 3, 111.

I will now turn to the punishment of the shade. In a kind of caldron, also in the tombs of the kings, are seen the souls, bodies, and shades of the wicked, held up by two hands—

snusit bau χ(r)at ha t
burnt are the souls the bodies and

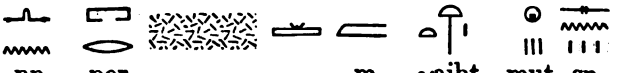


χaibtu n χftu
shades of the

and in the burning pi[illegible] are seen burning. The explanatory texts say, [illegible] les live, they have raised their powers":—

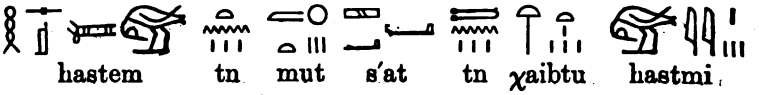
anχ χaibtu tut sn nχ sn
live the shades lift their hands powerful are they.

from which it would appear that they survive the effect of the *hat* or pit; from a papyrus also of the nineteenth or twentieth dynasty. In another section of the hell, the gods of which are obscure, there are also other passages, as:—



nn per ..... m χaibt mut sn
not come forth ..... from shades of their dead

In the paintings of the burning hell in the tomb of the kings of the nineteenth dynasty, showing the punishment of the future state, it is said of the shades:—



hastem tn mut s'at tn χaibtu hastmi
strangle ye the dead cut ye the shades of the strangled.

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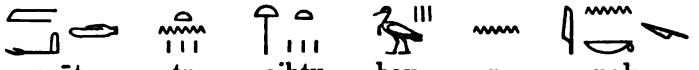
[1] Champollion, "Not. Descr.," 529.
[2] Lanzone, "La domicile d'Esprits," pl. iv.
[3] Champollion, "Not. Descr.," p. 789.

That is, the shades were cut off the souls of the dead, and so separated from them. Again, in another scene, it says: "Those who live in this section make road. That great god addresses them, they rest. They

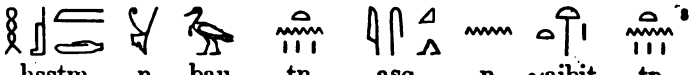
serq sn m χaibtu am ru nru
breathe they as shades from mouth to mouth.[1]

other descriptions of the soul are also given on the sarcophagus of Teos, as:—



māt tn χaibtu bau n nak
give ye the shades souls to the defeat.[2]

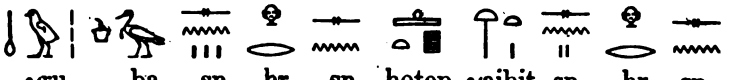
And again:—



hsstm n bau tn asq n χaibit tn
strangled have been souls your delayed have been shades your

In another section of the hell, the description is: "The gods in this picture adore the great god, because he is elevated above them, they receive his great disk and shade."[4] In the representation accompanying this scene, the shades on the heads of the souls are coloured blue. In another scene, souls are seen with shades over their heads.[5]

Some account of the shades occurs also on the sarcophagus of Nekhtherhebi at the British Museum, in the scenes which refer to the passage of the sun through the hours of the night, where it states: "Those who are in this future in the flesh of their own bodies—



χru ba sn hr sn hotep χaibit sn hr sn
the words (of) souls their over them rest shade their over them

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[1] Champollion, "Not. Descr.," p. 788.
[2] Sharpe, "Eg. Inscr.," new series, 7, 6.
[3] *Ibid.*, pl. 15, 6.
[4] Champollion, "Not. Descr.," p. 585
[5] "Not. Descr.," p. 621.

"their souls speak over them, their shades rest upon them when that god addresses them they speak to him, they glorify him when he rises up. The Osirian king he glorifies that great god when he rises (*āp*) over the souls and shades what they do is in the West."[1]

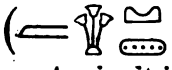
In another passage of the same coffin the expression *s'at ba χftu χna χaibit nn*, "cutting the condemned souls detaining the wretched shades. What they do is in the Amenti or West." Other things are also done by shades, for in another section of the same sarcophagus the passage of the sun is again explained. "That god goes along over them in peace, they have heard all the words, they imbibe his words. What they do is in the lower heaven, bringing souls, leading along shades, doing what is necessary for the souls in the water."

On the later wooden tablets of the period, ranging from the twenty-second dynasty to the Ptolemies, the procession of the solar boat is hailed by the soul *ba*, with upraised hands, and the shade *χaibit*.[2] Here the shade appears as a companion of the soul. So again, the Sun says, "I, the Sun, manifest what is hidden, throw light upon mysteries, I give life to your souls *seχen sen her χaibtu ten*, "who alight on your shades"; so in the same scenes of the burning hells of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, the texts state, "come the wicked dead,[3] from whom I have escaped, my father strikes, after his wounding, your bodies, mutilating your souls *habt*, expelling, your shades, your heads are cut off."

Ideas like those I have already given are translated from monuments of the papyri relating to the passage of the Sun through the second hour of the day. "The wicked dead come, whom my father strikes after his wounding, your bodies mutilating your souls expelling your shades, your heads are

[1] Eg. Gall., Brit. Mus., 10. [2] Pierret, 10, p. 122.
[3] Pierret, p. 135.

cut off, you no longer have a type, you do not come out, you do not escape the burning of the serpent, devourer of 100,000 (years), the consuming of the mistress of the furnaces, the flames of the mistress of pits, the fires of mistress of blocks, the mistress of swords cuts you and wounds you, she stabs you, you will never see again those on earth."[1]

In the same hour of the night the souls of the opposers of Osiris Haratif are stated to be the jailers of the hole; they live off the cries of the souls of the wicked, suffocating the souls and shades who raise their hands at the burning pit[2] ( *m hat*).

Again, it is said, "The serpent *Na* lives off the cries and roarings of Earth"; those attached to his worship proeced from his mouth daily. Those who are in this future receive the excellence (*nefrit*) of the Sun's boat, crossing from those devoted to the serpent called "The life of the gods." They love the great god in the heaven, the passage is to the upper distances. They assume the type in heaven of shades, and rest in the wind and water. When ordered to live they do so in the great boat of the Sun in heaven."[3]

This throws some light on the representation of shades in the later tablets, their existence with the souls in the solar boat, and their connection with the souls of men, for "never to see again those on earth," could hardly apply to demons,[4] and when ordered to live under the type or form of shades, they are said to rest in the wind and water, and to participate in the boat of the Sun the eternal passage through the heavens.

In the tomb of a person named Nebunnef, at Thebes,[5] dated in the 4th month of the spring of Rameses II, at Gournah, the deceased is represented in adoration to the four genii of the dead. Amset, the first, offers him his *qa*; Hapi,

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[1] Pierret, p. 136.

[2] Pierret, i, p. 136.

[1] Pierret, "Études," i, p. 135.

[3] Pierret, i, p. 142.

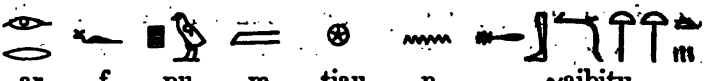
[4] Congrès provinciale des Orientalistes, 1874; Wiedemann, p. 165; "Textor de Ravisi," p. 187.

[5] Champollion, "Not. Descr.," p. 536.

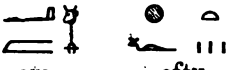
the second genius, a vase; Tuaumutef, the third genius, his *ba* or soul, represented as a human-headed hawk; Khabsenuf, the fourth genius, his shade, represented as a bearded mummied figure having a flabellum on the head; Thoth offers him the feather of Truth and a mouth.

In the magical papyrus the shades are mentioned along with the daimons, but not in the same parenthesis as the soul, for it says: "Speak to me, Amset, god of gods, of the darkness that every daimon and every shade which is in the Amenti sleeping lie, and that those who are dead wake for me all this soul to live, and that soul to breathe."[1] Here the soul, as distinguished from the shade, is supposed to breathe one of the functions of the body.

Other descriptions of the conditions of the shades are found, as—



ar f pu m tiau n χaibitu
he does is in the lower heaven to the shades



am χeftu
eating the accusers.

and in the same place: "Said by that great god to the gods, rising to them when ye turn back and are resting in the lower hemisphere, to your souls ye rest and your shades.[2]

Different ideas have prevailed among those who have treated on the soul, such as that the shade represented the obscurity caused by a dark body, and of the soul separated from the body, the radiancy of the *sahu* or mummy manifested on earth as a shadow, and in heaven, or a radiancy, the type or form produced by the procreator demiurgus; to which I could add the thin material envelope which protected the soul from the intensity of the solar rays,[3] following the vicissitudes of the soul and ghost.

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[1] Maspero, "Mel. d. Arch.," p. 39. [2] Sharpe, "Eg. Inscr.," pl. 32.

[3] Congrès provinciale des Orientalistes, 1874; Wiedemann, p. 165; "Textor de Ravisi," p. 183.

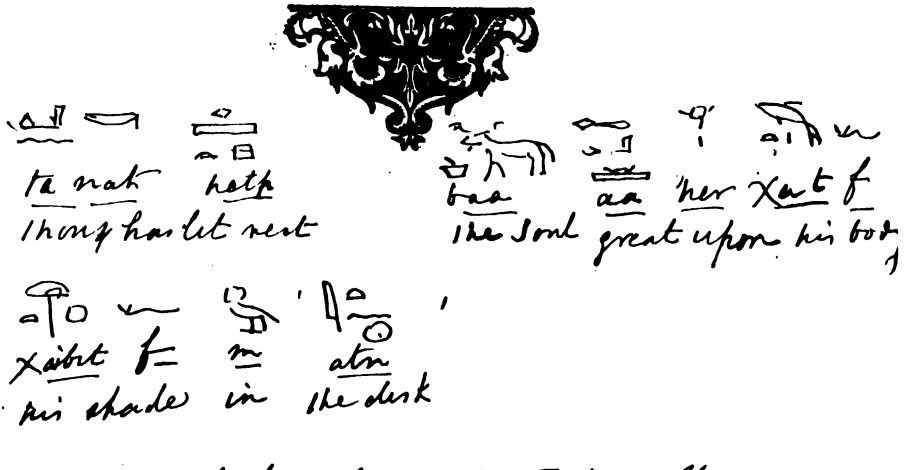
The idea of a resurrectionof the body is implied in some of these texts.

On the arrival of the Sun Ra at one of the gates of the Amenti, "Those," says the text, "who are in this picture, their bodies are in their chests in their holes. "Their bodies rise up at him," , the Sun. Anubis keeps the words of that great god who gives light to them from his great disk to their chests he reckons his words. His fires and his abode dissipate the darkness when he flies over them."[1]

It does not appear that there was any resurrection of e shade.

[1] Champollion, "Not. Descr.," p. 543.

My attention has been recently directed by Mr Le Page Renouf to a very important passage at Abydos. It reads.



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HANDICRAFTS AND ARTIZANS MENTIONED IN TALMUDICAL WRITINGS.

By Dr. S. Louis.

Read 4th March, 1884.

The following observations are intended to throw some rays of light upon the social and industrial habits of the Jews about two thousand years ago. As far as the degree of their civilization and the state of their industries are concerned, the Jews who worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem are as much an extinct race as the Athenians who had to stand the vexatious cross-questionings of Socrates, or the Romans who applauded the eloquence of Cicero in the Forum; and we have to look to the relics of by-gone ages for materials to construct a picture of their daily pursuits.

The art of sculpture was not at home among the Jews; the law which excluded every kind of image from their places of worship denied them the chief impetus which monumental art received among other nations of antiquity, so that they have left but scanty records of their history in stone or marble. As to the products of the industrial arts, beyond some coins and a few articles of jewelry and pottery, the excavations have hardly brought to light any object to testify what kind of artizans existed among them.

But in the Talmud, and the various works which have contributed to its compilation, we possess a vast literature, through which the treasures of the past are scattered in rich profusion; hidden away, it is true, among a mass of matter of which a large proportion is uncongenial to our modern ways of thought, yet opening to the diligent searcher a wide field of antiquarian interest; and as the spade of the excavator sometimes lays bare an object which, insignificant in itself, becomes important as a witness of the period to

which it owes its origin, so does the student of Rabbinical writings occasionally light upon a word, or an expression, or the mention of a fact which becomes a source of precious information to the reflecting mind. I will give two instances to illustrate my meaning :—

In the treatise of the Mishna called Kelim (*vessels* or *implements*), there occurs[1] the word תרונתק, meaning a leather case. The word is a compound of the Chaldean word תרין, "two," and the well-known Greek word *θήκη*, a "receptacle" or "case," and thus means a double or compound case; it is explained to signify a leather case having separate compartments for a pen, a lancet, a knife, and a pair of scissors, and being much used by surgeons. This single word thus produces before our view the surgeon of nearly two thousand years ago, going to visit his patients, and carrying his case of surgical instruments, much the same as the medical practitioner does in our own day.

In another part of the Talmud[2] the expression occurs תנורי בנות, "girls' ovens," meaning toy ovens, made for little girls to play with. This expression affords a peep into the nurseries of olden times, where girls might be seen playing at cooking, as they can be found to-day in many a nursery in London.

Such words are eminently suggestive; these two words naturally lead to the inference, that at the time they were written there must have been surgeons, there must have been makers of surgical instruments, there must have been leather workers, and there must have been makers of fictile ware who were occupied in providing children with playthings. In this way we become acquainted with handicrafts which have left very few substantial traces of their existence.

It is self-evident that a population of perhaps two millions of people could not have existed without artizans, who furnished the necessaries of life, and even some of its luxuries. The Bible mentions many of these, such as weavers, fullers, workers in metals, both the useful and the precious metals, carpenters, potters, locksmiths, and others;

[1] xvi, 8. [2] Niddah, 26 *b*.

but we are more concerned with the handicrafts as they flourished in later times, namely, in those centuries of which the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem forms the central event. A few sayings, culled from the pages of the Talmud, will show in what estimation handicrafts were held by the Rabbins: "Great is work, for it honours the worker,"[1] is an exclamation uttered by Jehudah, celebrated among the learned men of the second century. Among the duties of a father towards his son is enumerated that of causing him to be taught a trade, with this emphatic addition: "Neglecting to teach your son some handicraft, is like bringing him up to robbery."[2] Another very characteristic saying is this: "Though a famine rage in the land for seven years, it will not enter the door of the artizan."[3]

Not all handicrafts, however, were esteemed alike; it is enjoined: "Let every man endeavour to teach his son a clean and light employment;"[4] as such is instanced the trade of a tailor, because the stitches form neat straight lines like the furrows of a field. Several trades were looked upon with disfavour; such were especially those which necessitated a frequent absence of the man from his family, namely, the occupation of driver of asses and camels, that of sailor, herdsman, and carrier.[5] Another trade which was regarded unfavourably was that of butcher; it may here be observed that the butchers not only supplied raw meat, but were likewise purveyors of cooked meats; a butcher's hearth was therefore understood to be much larger than the hearth of the ordinary household.[6] Among the trades of a lower grade was likewise that of the tanner, but the lowest of all callings seems to have been that of skinning carcases in the market place.[7]

Though some pursuits were of course more humble than others, a man was not considered to be dishonoured by the nature of his calling, the rabbinical maxim being: "Poverty and riches do not depend upon the kind of handicraft a man

[1] Nedarim, 46 *b*. [2] Kiddushin, 29 *a*. [3] Sanhedrin, 29 *a*.
[4] Berachoth, 63 *a*. [5] Kiddushin, 82 *a*. [6] Kelim, vi, 2.
[7] Pessachim, 113 *a*.

has chosen; but let every man pray to Him who bestows all riches and possessions, that he may be successful in the trade he shall follow."[1]

The practice of certain trades being carried on in special localities, appears to be of very early origin. From the Bible we know of a street of the bakers, a potters' gate, and a fullers' field; in the Mishna[2] mention is made of a meat market, and in the Talmud[3] we find the regulation laid down that a tanner was not allowed to carry on his trade within the precincts of a city. This prohibition is confirmed by a passage in the Acts (x, 32), where Simon, a tanner of Joppa, is stated to have dwelt "by the sea-side"—necessarily so, because he could not carry on his business within the town. The Talmud fixes 50 cubits as the minimum distance at which a tannery is to be situated from the city gates; this regulation seems very inadequate for the prevention of unpleasant odours; but we ought not to attach too much importance to the exact number of cubits indicated; it is of sufficient interest to find that considerations for the purity of the atmosphere were not altogether neglected in those times in the administration of cities.

In Alexandria the practice of artizans who followed the same trade inhabiting special streets or quarters of the city, was very minutely carried out. It is stated[4] that there were separate quarters for the goldsmiths, the silversmiths, the ironworkers, the coppersmiths, and the weavers, so that when a poor artizan arrived there, it was easy for him to address himself to the men of his craft, and among them to find employment for the maintenance of his family.

Such statements lead us to suppose that some bond of union existed between men of the same handicraft. A confirmation of this may be found in the 19th chapter of the Acts, where it is related how Demetrius, a silversmith, addressed the men of his craft on a matter touching the interests of their guild. In Jerusalem these guilds enjoyed great consideration in the municipality; when processions from the provinces arrived bearing offerings of first fruits,

[1] Kiddushin, 82 *a*. [2] Becoroth, v, 1. [3] Baba bathra, 25 *a*.
[4] Succah, 51 *b*.

they were received by the principal officials of the temple and by the craftsmen of Jerusalem, who offered their greetings, saying: "Our brethren, men from such and such a province, be welcome among us."[1]

Mention is made of a locality in Jerusalem which is generally called "the synagogue of the coppersmiths."[2] The expression used is בית הכנסת, the literal equivalent of συναγώγη, which, as is well-known, means a house of assembly; it is therefore probable that this "synagogue" was not simply a house of prayer, but served also as a meeting-house where the coppersmiths assembled for purposes relating to their particular trade.

A custom which deserves to be mentioned was that of artizans wearing characteristic badges indicative of their trade. It is stated[3] that the tailor carried a needle stuck in front of his dress; the scribe went out with a pen behind his ear; the carpenter displayed a sort of foot-rule;[4] the wool-carder a woollen thread; the weaver a flock of wool; the dyer a number of threads dyed in different colours, which he used as patterns, and from which his customers could select the shade they desired; even the money-changer appeared in public with a coin conspicuously fastened to his dress. As a characteristic portion of apparel may likewise be noted the tanner's סקורטיא,[5] a kind of leather apron worn by tanners while engaged in the operations of their business.

It was natural, as is the case in all countries, that the son should mostly be brought up to the handicraft of his father, and we meet with instances of trades becoming hereditary in certain families. In the fourth chapter of the first Book of Chronicles a family of linen weavers is mentioned, as well as families of carpenters and potters. The Talmud[6] speaks of two families—the family of Gormu, who possessed the secret of baking the shew-bread for the temple, and the family of Abtinas, who were skilled in the preparation of the holy

[1] Bicurim, iii, 3. [2] Megillah, 26 *a*. [3] Sabbath, 11 *b*.

[4] I have used the word "foot rule" as the modern equivalent for קסם, which is probably connected with the Greek word σχίζω, and signifies a chip of wood, which carpenters used for measuring.

[5] Kelim, xvi, 4. [6] Joma, 38 *a*.

incense. It is recorded that when these families refused to teach their secrets to others, the authorities sent for bakers and perfume-mixers from Alexandria, but they did not quite succeed in producing the requisite articles.

With reference to *competition* among the trading classes, it is interesting to find principles of political economy cropping up in the pages of the Talmud; while it is agreed on all hands[1] that officials should be appointed for the purpose of periodically examining the weights and measures used by traders, there is diversity of opinion as to the advisability of the prices being fixed by the authorities; those who disapprove of the interference of the overseers believing that prices may safely be left to be regulated by competition, though, as I shall presently have occasion to point out, pressure was put upon certain traders in order to induce them to sell at a cheap rate. A fair competition was countenanced, but encroachments upon other people's trades were very severely judged.[2] Even an instance of trade combination is to be met with. A case is related[3] of two butchers in a town who made a compact that the one should not kill on the same days of the week as the other, so that they might both have a better chance of selling their meat.

The foregoing remarks refer to artizans and handicrafts in general; I will now proceed to point out noteworthy features in special crafts as they existed in Talmudical times.

I. Bakers.

In the first stages of society the bread required for the family was baked in each household, and it was mostly the wife or the female servant who performed this domestic labour. But it appears that among the Jews, bakers who prepared bread for sale in the market-place have existed in very early times. It has been noted before, that in Jerusalem there was a street called the street of the bakers, where these artizans had their bakehouses.

The Talmudical name for baker is נחתום, a word probably of foreign origin, but the etymology of which is

[1] Baba bathra, 89 *a*. [2] Maccoth, 24 *a*. [3] Baba bathra, 9 *a*.

not satisfactorily explained; another name for baker is בורדקאי,[1] which is perhaps connected with the Greek word βρωτὸν, "food." Neither of these words is etymologically related to the Talmudical words denoting "bread," of which there are three, viz., פת, נהמא, and ריפתא; these are used indiscriminately, without a special meaning being attached to any of them.

Bread was made of various kinds of cereals, such as wheat, barley, and spelt; inferior sorts were made of the flour of beans or lentils.[2] There were also choicer sorts called סלתות, "products of fine flour," and גלוסקאות, probably corresponding to our rolls. It is likely that these choicer sorts were made by special bakers, such as the family of Gormu to whom I have referred before. It appears that each baker adopted a particular shape for his loaves, so that the bread of his baking could be distinguished from that of his competitors. The townspeople of Jerusalem are reported to have been very particular with respect to their bread, and somewhat looked down upon those who habitually ate stale bread.[3] As implements used in making bread, are mentioned[4] the kneading trough, the board on which the loaves were ranged, the rolling-pin, and a small trough filled with water, in which the baker from time to time cooled his hands.

The oven[5] was generally made of earthenware, sometimes of metal, in the shape of a pot without a bottom, resting on a basis of stones or bricks. By what I suppose we must call a police regulation, it was enacted that from the top of the oven to the beam of the ceiling there must be a distance of at least four cubits;[6] this as a precaution against setting fire to the house.

The bakers were not usually the bread-sellers; there was the פלטר (corrupted from the Greek word πράτηρ), the factor or wholesale dealer who bought from the bakers, and then there was the מנפול, the retail bread-seller.[7] This word מנפול is evidently identical with the Greek term

[1] Pesachim, 40 *b*. [2] Shebuoth, 22 *b*. [3] Sabbath, 62 *b*. [4] Kelim, xv, 2.
[5] Bertinoro on Kelim, v, 1. [6] Baba bathra, 20 *b*. [7] Demai, v, 4.

μονοπώλης; but instead of adopting its proper meaning, the Jews seem in this instance to have applied it to one who sold *single* loaves. A similar practice (of the bread-*seller* being distinguished from the bread-*maker*) appears to have prevailed among the Greeks; so at least I infer from the occurrence of the word ἀρτοπῶλις (bread-seller) used by Aristophanes,[1] as distinguished from ἀρτοκόπος (baker).

This arrangement of bread going through three hands before it reached the consumer, must have had a tendency unduly to raise the price of the staff of life; on the other hand, the authorities kept the price well under control; we find that the manufacturing bakers were absolved from certain imposts, because the overseers were always urging them[2] (the text says they used to beat them) to sell at a cheap rate.

It is noteworthy that Jehudah, a learned Rabbi of the second century, gained his livelihood as a baker. Indeed, many men, distinguished for their learning, belonged to the artizan class, thus setting their pupils and their contemporaries a praiseworthy example of industry and self-reliance.

II. Metal-Workers.

Goldsmiths and silversmiths were numerous, and their productions comprised household utensils, and a variety of ornaments for women; among the latter may be mentioned one which is called in the Talmud, "city of gold," or "Jerusalem of gold;"[3] it was either a flat piece of gold, or in the shape of a crown (the opinions are divided on this point), and had the outlines of a city, mostly those of Jerusalem, figured on it.

The coppersmiths, who are also mentioned in the New Testament (II Timothy, iv, 14), have already been referred to.

[1] Frogs, 858: "It is not meet that poets should rail at each other like bread-women." From this it would almost seem as if these female bread-sellers had a reputation for abusive language similar to our own market women.

[2] Joma, 9 *a*. [3] Sabbath, 57 *a*; Nedarim, 50 *a*.

The trade of blacksmith must have been carried on extensively, if we may judge from the long list of agricultural implements and household utensils of iron, contained in the treatise of Kelim, where, among other articles, iron tyres of wheels are mentioned.[1] Although the furnace and the process of smelting are frequently alluded to in the Bible, and have supplied the poetical writers with many expressive images, yet I cannot find any direct indications that the operation of reducing iron from the ore was carried on among the Jews; I rather incline to the opinion that iron was imported from other countries in bars (עשת), or round lumps, technically called *blooms* (חררה);[2] the word used for these lumps really signifies a kind of cake baked on coals, and is applied to these pieces of iron on account of their round shape. The use of charcoal in forges was well known.[3] A peculiar law referring to iron-workers deserves to be noted; it was enacted[4] that if a spark should fly out from a smithy ("from under the hammer" is the literal expression of the text) and cause some damage, the smith is held liable.

The occurrence of the word גרורות,[5] "iron scrapings," proves that they used to polish iron by scraping it.

One of the appliances in the blacksmith's shop was called "the smith's donkey;[6] it was a block of wood, probably with some resemblance to a donkey in shape, which was used as a stand for the bellows. The word "donkey" was also applied to wooden stands used by other artizans.

One of the Jewish sages of the second century was a blacksmith by trade, and is always mentioned in the Talmud as יצחק נפחא, "Isaac the smith" He died very young, but is well remembered through his son Jochanan, who became a renowned teacher in Seporis. R. Jochanan was a posthumous child, and according to a custom then prevailing, which was instituted probably in order to perpetuate the father's memory in such cases, he was known by the name of בר נפחא, "the smith's son." His personal history is extremely touching. His mother died shortly after his birth,

[1] Kelim, xi, 3. [2] Kelim, xi, 3. [3] Sabbath, 130 *a*.
[4] Baba Kama, 62 *b*. [5] Kelim, xi, 3. [6] Kelim, xiv, 3.

and the orphan boy was brought up by an aged grandfather. His whole life was a continued struggle with pressing poverty; ten sons were born to him, but they all died during his lifetime; there is thus something strangely pathetic in his saying: "The wrath of the Lord is upon the man who does not leave a son behind him."[1] R. Jochanan was noted for his tolerant opinions in regard to pagans; he maintained: "The pagans out of Palestine are not idolators, they merely follow the practices of their fathers."[2]

III. Fullers and Dyers.

The early existence of the trade of fuller is evidenced by the fact of a locality called "the fullers' field" being mentioned in the Bible. The following substances are enumerated in the Talmud as detergents:—[3]

נתר, the ancient natron, *i.e.*, "soda;" בורית, which was probably potash; קמוליא, "cimolite," a white earth found in Argentiera, an island of the Grecian Archipelago, the ancient Cimolus; אשלג, some alkaline substance which I cannot identify;[4] and צפון, "soap," which was supposed to be most effective for removing stains, and was to be applied when the other substances failed to produce the desired effect.

The process of dyeing seems to have been carried on to a large extent; at all events, several pages of the Talmud are devoted to the discussion of the dyer's liability if he should deviate from the instructions received from his customer. The dye-stuffs used appear to have been for the most part *vegetable*, so at least we may infer from the use of the word סמנין,[5] which literally means "herbs." The Jews were, however, acquainted with חלזון,[6] as they called that particular species of murex from which the celebrated Tyrian purple dye was obtained.

Of the vegetable dye-stuffs applied by Jewish dyers, are named:[7]

[1] Baba bathra, 116 *a*. [2] Chulin, 13 *b*. [3] Niddah, 62 *a*.

[4] The word is perhaps connected with שלג, "snow," and may either mean a white substance, or a substance which renders materials white as snow.

[5] Baba kama, 101 *a*. [6] Menachoth, 44 *a*. [7] Shebiith, vii, 1 and 2.

אסטים, the Greek ἰσάτις, "woad," yielding a blue colour; קוצה and פואה, *red* colours, probably produced from madder. *Red* and *blue* seem to have been the principal colours, though it is likely that other colours were known.

IV. Perfumers.

The business of mixing incense has already been alluded to; with this was most likely connected that of preparing cosmetics; it is stated[1] that from the time of Ezra, itinerant vendors of perfumes used to visit the cities to sell toilet requisites for ladies.

As an allied trade to that of perfumer, I may mention that of hairdresser. A female hairdresser[2] is referred to in the Talmud, and likewise a kind of net[3] in which women wrapped themselves while their hair was being dressed. Josephus[4] mentions the practice of sprinkling gold dust upon the hair as having existed in the time of King Solomon.

False hair was also worn; women used artificial plaits to supplement their own. A curious discussion arises on a hypothetical case[5]:—If a woman who was sentenced to be executed should express a wish that her false hair should be given up to her daughter, whether that request can be granted or not.

V. Shoemakers.

Two terms are used in the Talmud: סנדלר, "sandal-maker," and רצען, "shoemaker," but I cannot find any indication that these were separate trades. Mention is made of a wooden shoe[6] covered with leather, and having the upper portion fastened to the soles by nails. An eminent sage of the second century gained his livelihood by sandal-making, and is always referred to as "Jochanan Hasandler." He was a pupil of the celebrated R. Akiba, to whom he was much attached, and whom he visited in prison.[7]

[1] Baba bathra, 22 *a*. [2] Chagigah, 4 *b*. [3] Kelim, xv, 3.
[4] Antiqu., viii, 7, 3. [5] Erechin, 7 *b*. [6] Sabbath, 60 *a*.
[7] R. Akiba was put into prison, and died the death of a martyr under the governorship of Titus Annius Rufus.

VI. Builders.

The more ambitious structures among the Jews were probably the works of foreign architects; the occurrence of such expressions as פלטין, "palatium," בלן, "balneum," and טרקלין, "triclinium," strongly points to Roman influence. The ordinary dwelling-houses, however, were no doubt built by native workmen; there must, therefore, have been bricklayers, masons, carpenters, plasterers, and whitewashers. The houses were mostly only one storey high, yet houses with more than one storey, where the upper storey formed a separate dwelling, are distinctly mentioned.[1] In this connection it may be of some interest to note that the whitewashers employed a brush the handle of which was made in joints,[2] so that they could make it longer or shorter at will.

The following description of the construction of mud walls is introduced by Maimonides[3] in explaining the word נדבך. This word, according to most commentators, means a row of bricks or stones, or a low stone wall; but Maimonides says it means a wooden board, used in the building of walls, and he adds: "The builders take two boards about six cubits long and two cubits high, and place them parallel to each other on their edges, as far apart as the thickness of the wall they wish to build; then they steady these boards with pieces of wood, fastened with cords. The space between the boards is then filled up with earth, which is beaten down firmly with hammers or stampers; this is continued until the wall reaches the requisite height, and the boards are then withdrawn." I am informed that the same mode of construction is even now in use among the natives in some of the semi-civilised districts in the Andes.

VII. Potters.

The trade and the processes of the potter are so frequently referred to in the Bible that the Talmud has

[1] Baba bathra, 63 *a*. [2] Sabbath, 47 *a*. [3] Coment. on Kelim, xx, 5.

little to add. A peculiar kind of manufacture, frequently mentioned in the Mishna and the Talmud, are כלי נתר,[1] literally "vessels of natron." The opinions of commentators differ very much as to the substances from which these vessels were made. As far as I can ascertain, they were made from soda obtained from the Egyptian natron lakes, mixed with sand. According to Maimonides, they were only used as drinking vessels, and were too brittle to stand the fire. They seem to have been something between earthenware and glass. These vessels are likewise referred to by Pliny (Hist. Natur., xxxi, 10).

VIII. Physicians.

According to Rabbinical phraseology, the physician belonged to the artizan class; he is generally called אומן, which literally means "a skilled man," and is commonly applied to handicraftsmen.

The existence of surgical instruments has already been alluded to. The phrase מלא תרוד גדול של רופאים,[2] "as much as a large spoon of the doctors will hold," proves that the "tablespoonful" is a very ancient institution. It was usual for the patients to be attended to at the physician's house, but the wealthier classes often sent for the physician to attend them in their own dwellings.[3]

Many of the learned practised the healing art; there was a celebrated surgeon in the third century named Abba, of whom it is recorded[4] that he had separate rooms for men and for women; he also provided a kind of wrapper in which women were wrapped while undergoing operations. A place was set apart in the wall where people deposited the fee, so that he did not know how much any particular individual had given. From learned men he not only did not take any fee, but when the patient was a poor man, he supplied him with money to procure suitable nourishment for his convalescence.

[1] Kelim, ii, 1. [2] Kelim, xvii, 12. [3] Berachoth, 64 *a*.
[4] Taanith, 21 *b*.

These appear to be the principal handicrafts exercised among the Jews in the first centuries of the present era. There existed, of course, some others—for instance, fishermen, weavers, coopers, millers, &c.; but I have not found in them any characteristic features that seemed to me noteworthy. While endeavouring to lay before you the salient points of ancient Jewish industries, it has been my chief aim to show that the inhabitants of Palestine of two thousand years ago, although chiefly an agricultural people, were by no means indifferent to the mechanical arts by which the commodities and the embellishments of life are supplied; and many men who were eminent for their profound learning did not disdain to earn their livelihood by the labour of their hands. In pursuing these researches I have often been struck by the discovery that many practices and appliances which we generally regard as the offsprings of comparatively modern times, are really developments of what existed in ages long gone by; and I have been strengthened in the conviction that the past comprised the seeds of the present, as the present comprises the seeds of the future.

L'INSCR TION DE LA DESTRUCTION DES HOMMES DA S LE TOMBEAU DE RAMSÈS III.

Par VILLE.

885.

DEPUIS 1875, pour la première fois, l'Inscripti I, racontant la destruction des hommes texte a fait l'objet de plusieurs travaux. e Bergmann l'a publié à nouveau d'après un ait prise sur les lieux;[1] M. Brugsch en a fai complète accompagnée de la transcription;[2] M. Lauth a reproduit ma traduction en y faisant quelques corrections;[3] enfin M. Lefébure[4] en a interprété une partie qu'il a comparée à un texte tiré d'un papyrus de Turin.

D'après une indication qui m'avait été fournie par mon savant confrère, M. le Dr. Stern, j'ai trouvé un second exemplaire de cet intéressant texte dans le tombeau de Ramsès III; j'en ai pris copie pendant un séjour à Thèbes que j'ai fait dans l'hiver de 1882, et depuis lors j'ai pu collationner ma copie sur des estampages que M. Lefébure a faits l'année suivante, et qu'il a eu l'obligeance de mettre à ma disposition. Cette reproduction avait évidemment été faite d'après le tombeau de Séti I; il s'y trouve un très petit nombre de variantes, mais elle est utile parce qu'elle remplit quelques unes des lacunes qui se trouvent dans l'original. La chambre du tombeau de Ramsès III dans laquelle se

[1] "Hieroglyphische Inschriften," pl. lxxxv *et seq.*

[2] "Die neue Weltordnung nach Vernichtung des sündigen Menschengeschlechtes." Berlin. 1881.

[3] "Aus Egyptens Vorzeit," p. 71 *et seq.*

[4] "Un chapitre de la chronique solaire." (*Zeitschr. für Aeg. Sprache*, 1883.)

trouve l'inscription est en beaucoup plus mauvais état que celle de Séti I; la pierre s'est délitée; il s'y est formé beaucoup de salpêtre, et les chauve-souris ont achevé ce que le temps avait encore un peu respecté. Il serait impossible de traduire l'inscription d'après le texte de Ramsès III; mais je vais essayer d'en donner une nouvelle interprétation en m'aidant des travaux et des corrections de mes savants confrères, en particulier de M. Brugsch, et en relevant deux ou trois points où la comparaison des deux versions m'a montré que le savant égyptologue s'était écarté du sens vrai.[1]

Ligne 1. . . . . qui se lève, le dieu qui existe par lui-même,[2] lorsqu'il fut en possession de la royauté des hommes et des dieux ensemble; les hommes prononcèrent des paroles [contre le dieu].

2. . . . . lors donc que Sa Majesté, vie saine et forte, était dans sa vieillesse, ses os[3] étaient d'argent, sa chair était d'or, ses boucles de lapis vrai; Sa Majesté s'aperçut des paroles [prononcées] contre lui

3. par les hommes. Dit par Sa Majesté, vie saine et forte, à ceux qui étaient auprès de lui: j'appelle devant ma face, Shu, Tefnut, Seb,

4. Nut, et les pères et les mères qui étaient avec moi quand j'étais encore dans Nun (l'océan primordial);[4] et ensuite mon dieu (mon père divin) Nun, amènera ses

5. compagnons avec lui. Amène-les à petits pas, que les hommes ne le voient pas, et que ne s'écoule (s'effraie) pas leur cœur. Tu iras avec eux,

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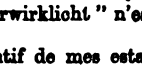
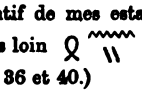
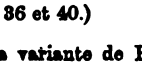
[1] Pour abréger je désignerai le texte de Seti I par S. et celui de Ramsès III par R.

[2] La leçon de R. montre que la correction de Mr. Lauth: "dessen Wort sich verwirklicht" n'est pas justifiée.

[3] Un examen attentif de mes estampages m'a prouvé qu'il faut lire dans S.  et plus loin  . (Brugsch, "Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh," p. 36 et 40.)

[4] Remarquer ici la variante de R.  .

6. dans le grand temple quand ils auront donné leur consentement; je sortirai de Nun pour aller au lieu où je suis; qu'on m'amène là les dieux.

7. Lorsque les dieux furent arrivés dans son lieu, ils se prosternèrent en présence de Sa Majesté qui prononça ses paroles en ta présence, père

8. des anciens dieux, créateur des hommes et roi des êtres purs; et ils dirent en présence de Sa Majesté:

9. Dis-nous tes paroles afin que nous les entendions.[1] Dit par Ra à Nun: toi, l'aîné des dieux, duquel je suis né, et vous dieux anciens,

10. voici les hommes qui sont nés de mon œil,[2] prononcent des paroles contre moi. Dites-moi ce que vous ferez à ce sujet,

11. voici j'ai attendu, et je ne les ai pas tués avant d'avoir entendu ce que vous direz à ce sujet.

12. Dit par la majesté de Nun: mon fils Ra, plus grand que celui qui l'a fait, et que les dieux qui l'ont créé; ton trône est bien établi, et grande est la crainte

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[1] Nous avons ainsi le commencement de l'inscription à peu près complet. Le crime des hommes est celui qui est répété plus loin. Ils se sont permis de parler contrel eur roi. Mr. Brugsch rétablissait le sens ainsi l. 1: "Und die Menschen welche auf das Gebirge gezogen verschworen sich gegen ihren Herrn." Cela me paraît aller plus loin que le texte.

[2] Il est fait plusieurs fois allusion dans les textes mythologiques à la puissance créatrice de l'œil, ainsi Todt., ch. 78 (je cite d'après le texte thébain de mon édition): "Je suis un bienheureux lumineux qu'a créé Tum lui-même. Je suis né d'un rayonnement de son œil"; et plus loin: "Je suis un ver qu'a créé l'œil du maître unique lorsqu' Isis n'avait pas encore enfanté Horus." Puis dans le chapitre où Horus demande à son père de pouvoir voir comme lui ses créatures et où il est puni de sa présomption par la blessure que Set lui fait à l'œil.

13. que tu inspires, que ton œil se dirige sur ceux qui conspirent contre toi; dit par la majesté de Ra: voici, ils s'enfuient sur les montagnes

14. et leurs cœurs sont effrayés à cause de ce que je leur ai dit. Ils dirent (unanimément) devant la majesté de Ra: laisse aller ton œil,

15. que ce soit lui qui vainque ceux qui complotent des choses mauvaises, aucun œil ne sera en face de lui (pour l'empêcher de les frapper) s'il descend sous la forme

16. d'Hathor. La déesse alla donc et elle tua les hommes sur les montagnes. Dit par la majesté de ce dieu: viens en paix, Hathor.

17. ..... m'éloignerai d'elle. Dit par cette déesse: tu es vivant, quand je l'ai emporté sur les hommes, mon cœur en a été heureux.

18. ..... dit par la majesté de Ra: je l'importe sur eux ..... leur destruction. De là vient que Sekhet

19. pendant plusieurs nuits foula aux pieds leur sang, commençant à Héracléopolis. Dit par Ra:

20. J'appelle vers moi des coureurs légers et rapides; qu'ils soient prompts comme .....[1]

21. ..... ces coureurs arrivèrent sur le champ; Sa Majesté leur dit: qu'ils courent à Eléphantine et qu'ils m'apportent

22. des mandragores en grand nombre; quand furent apportées ces mandragores, elles furent remises au meunier d'Héliopolis

23. pour les moudre, en même temps que les prêtresses étendaient de l'orge pour faire de la boisson; on mit les mandragores dans des vases avec le sang des hommes,

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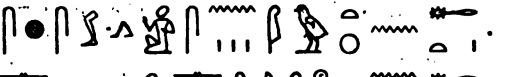
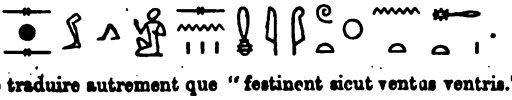
[1] Il y a ici une variante curieuse:

S.: 

R.: 

Il est difficile de traduire autrement que "festinent sicut ventus ventris."

et l'on fit de cette boisson, sept mille cruches.[1] Alors vint la majesté de Ra avec ses dieux pour voir cette boisson, après qu'il eût dit à la déesse de tuer les hommes pendant leurs jours de navigation.

Dit par la majesté de Ra : c'est bien (ces vases) ; je vais protéger les hommes avec cela. Elevez vos mains à ce sujet parceque je ne lui (à la déesse) dirai plus de tuer les hommes.[2]

La majesté du roi de la [illegible]te et de la Basse Egypte, Ra, ordonna à la faveu[illegible] [illegible]uit de répandre le liquide qui était dans ces vases ; [illegible]mps qui étaient des quatre côtés furent.

29. remplis d'eau par [illegible]nté de ce dieu.[3] Le déesse vint au matin, et elle tro[illegible] [illegible]hamps

30. inondés. Son visage e[illegible] fut réjoui ; elle se mit à boire à satiété, et elle s'en alla [illegible]vrée,

31. et elle ne vit plus les hommes. Dit par la majesté de Ra : viens en paix, puissante déesse ;[4] c'est là l'origine

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[1] Il y avait là un membre de phrase dont il reste un lambeau dans R. [illegible], mais qui n'existe pas dans S.

[2] Il est regrettable qu'à cet endroit le texte de R. soit en aussi mauvais état ; cependant j'ai pu lire distinctement et vérifier sur l'estampage ces mots de la ligne 27 : [illegible], *il ne lui sera plus dit de tuer les hommes.* Le mot [illegible] manque dans S. Quant à [illegible] il est plus régulier de traduire *élevez les mains*, quoique dans ce texte il ne faille pas se tenir de trop près aux pronoms et aux déterminatifs tels qu'ils sont indiqués.

[3] Non seulement Ra n'ordonnera plus la destruction des hommes, mais il va faire en sorte qu'Hathor soit obligée de s'arrêter dans le massacre ; pour cela il va lui faire éprouver l'effet de la boisson qui a été fabriquée. Cette boisson est devenue un [illegible], une boisson qui oblige au repos, qui endort, un narcotique. Dans le Livre des Morts le verbe [illegible] "faire coucher," est un euphémisme pour "mourir."

[4] [illegible] au lieu de [illegible] de S.

32. des jeunes filles d'Amu. Dit par la majesté de Ra à cette déesse : on lui fera des vases de boisson enivrante au temps de la fête annuelle, leur nombre sera d'après

33. celui des servantes (du temple). De là vient que des vases de boisson enivrante d'après le nombre des servantes sont faits par tous les hommes à la fête d'Hathor depuis le premier jour.

34. Dit par la majesté de Ra à cette déesse : s'il y a une douleur cuisante qui me fait souffrir, dira-t-on quelle est cette douleur ?

35. Dit par la majesté de Ra : je suis vivant mon cœur est las d'être avec eux ; je les ai tués en vain,

36. Ce n'a pas été une destruction de la longueur de mon bras[1] (aussi complète que j'aurais pu la faire). Dit par les dieux qui l'accompagnaient : arrière ta lassitude, tu as obtenu

37. ce que tu désirais. Dit par la majesté du dieu à Nun : ma chair est malade pour la première fois ; je n'irai pas jusqu'à ce que j'atteigne un autre (pour me soutenir).

Le texte s'interrompt ici pour faire place à la peinture de la vache céleste, et à la description très-fragmentaire qui l'accompagne. Il manque donc dans le texte de Ramsès III,

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[1] Malgré l'autorité qui s'attache à tout ce qu'écrit Mr. Brugsch, je crois devoir maintenir ma traduction précédente. Mr. Brugsch traduit : "Meine Seele ist es müde geworden, mit ihnen (den Menschen) zu sein. Ich habe sie vertilgt, und kein Mann ist übrig geblieben. Nicht kurz, sondern lang ist mein Arm gewesen." Cette interprétation ne me paraît pas concorder avec ce que dit Ra. Le dieu se plaint de la lassitude que lui cause la société des hommes ; preuve qu'il ne les a pas détruits aussi complètement qu'il l'aurait désiré. □ ○ ∿∿∿ 𓂋𓂋𓂋 𓅱 𓀀, litt. *fois* ou *manière de personne*, me paraît une expression composée dans le genre de □ ○ 𓂋 𓅱 𓀀 et devoir signifier 'nullement, en aucune manière." 𓂋 𓅱 𓀀 □ ∿∿∿ 𓅱 𓃀 𓅱 𓊪 𓀀 ! ∿∿∿ ∿∿∿ ∿∿∿ 𓅱 𓀀 . Le mot ∿∿∿ 𓅱 𓀀 se trouve déjà, S., l. 15, sous la forme transitive 𓂋 𓊪 ∿∿∿ 𓅱 𓀀 où il signifie comme l'indique Mr. de Rougé, "détruire, anéantiz." Litt. "Ce n'est pas une destruction de la longueur de mon bras," c'est-à dire aussi complète que j'aurais pu la faire ou que je l'aurais voulue ; ou bien comme je l'ai proposé dans ma première traduction "où j'aie étendu ma main," c'est-à-dire que j'aie faite par moi-même.

l'une des parties les plus importantes de l'inscription : l'enlèvement de Ra par la vache Nut et le pardon accordé aux hommes. S. 35 :

Vos péchés sont derrière vous, le meurtre éloigne le meurtre ; de là viennent les sacrifices. (Il faut suppléer dans la lacune le mot).

Quand l'inscription de R. reprend, c'est aux recommandations que Ra adresse à Seb (S. 56) de se garder avec soin contre les serpents qu'il contient.

R. l. 38. "Dit par la majesté du dieu à Thoth : appelle devant moi la majesté de Seb, disant : viens, hâte toi sur le champ. Lorsque fut venue la majesté de Seb, la majesté de ce dieu lui dit : prends garde aux serpents qui sont en toi, qu'ils me craignent tel que je suis, et lorsque tu connaîtras leur science, tu courras ensuite au lieu où est mon père Nun et tu lui diras : prends garde aux serpents de la terre et de l'eau."

Il reste trop peu du texte de R., les variantes qui s'y trouvent sont trop peu importantes pour qu'il y ait lieu à tenter une nouvelle interprétation. L'inscription s'arrête brusquement au milieu de la ligne 85 de S., parceque l'espace a manqué au scribe. Nous avons ici un exemple de la négligence avec laquelle travaillaient les scribes égyptiens. On a voulu profiter d'une petite chambre au fond du tombeau, et l'orner comme celle de Séti I ; évidemment on a commencé par graver sur la paroi en face de la porte la belle vache céleste qui est la partie centrale de l'inscription, puis on s'est mis à écrire le texte en commençant à droite de la porte sans calculer la grandeur des signes et sans s'inquiéter si l'espace suffirait. Aussi n'était on arrivé qu'à S. 29 quand on a été arrêté par le dessin de la vache. Il est probable qu'en même temps un autre ouvrier gravait la seconde partie de l'inscription de l'autre côté du dessin, car dans les deux tombeaux, après la vache le texte reprend au même endroit. Cet ouvrier a fait la même faute que le premier, et la place lui a manqué également. Mais peu importait pourvu que

les murs fussent recouverts ; qui donc irait contrôler l'exactitude de la copie.

Résumons encore une fois la partie la plus intéressante de ce curieux mythe. Ra, le roi des hommes et des dieux, déjà avancé en âge, s'aperçoit que les hommes prononcent contre lui des paroles séditieuses. Il convoque alors les dieux Shu, Tefnut, Seb et Nut, ainsi que son père Nun pour leur demander conseil sur ce qu'il y a à faire. Ceux-ci l'engagent à envoyer son œil qui prendra la forme d'Hathor, et qui massacrera les rebelles. La déesse exécute le mandat à la satisfaction de Ra, et pour achever la destruction des hommes, elle devient Sekhet la puissante, qui foule aux pieds pendant plusieurs nuits le sang des coupables. A ce moment Ra ordonne à ses coureurs d'aller en hâte à Eléphantine lui chercher des mandragores qu'il remet au meunier et aux prêtresses d'Héliopolis, qui en mêlent le jus au sang des hommes et en font 7,000 cruches de boisson. Ra vient pour les voir et enchanté de ce spectacle il déclare qu'il s'en servira pour protéger les humains, et que désormais il n'ordonnera plus à la déesse de massacrer les hommes. Aussi fait-il répandre pendant la nuit le liquide de ces cruches qui recouvre la terre de tous côtés. Au matin arrive la déesse qui a passé la nuit à fouler aux pieds les cadavres ; elle boit avec avidité, s'enivre et ne voit plus les hommes qui échappent ainsi à la destruction. Cependant Ra se sent malade, il est las de la société des humains, et il se fait porter au ciel par Nut qui a pris la forme d'une vache. A ce moment les lacunes du texte ne nous permettent pas de reconstruire complètement l'ordre des faits. Les hommes voient passer Ra, et il semble que devant lui ils s'engagent à détruire ceux des leurs qui sont ses ennemis. Au matin les hommes sortent portant leurs arcs, et ils percent de leurs flèches les ennemis du roi. Aussi Ra leur déclare que leurs fautes leur sont pardonnées, et que la mort de ses ennemis a payé leur rançon. Le texte ajoute que c'est là l'origine des sacrifices.

Ainsi en Egypte l'idée qui a conduit à l'institution du sacrifice est presque la même que chez les Hébreux ou chez les Grecs." "Le meurtre écarte le meurtre," comme dit l'Egyptien ; la mort éloigne la mort. Les hommes se sont

rebellés contre leur roi, ils sont voués à la destruction ; mais une partie d'entre eux obtient son pardon en faisant périr ceux qui persistent dans la révolte, et désormais les sacrifices commémorent cet événement qui a sauvé les hommes de l'anéantissement. Il y a sous cette forme bizarre de l'inscription égyptienne une pensée que je recommande à l'attention des savants qui s'occupent de l'étude comparée des religions.

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